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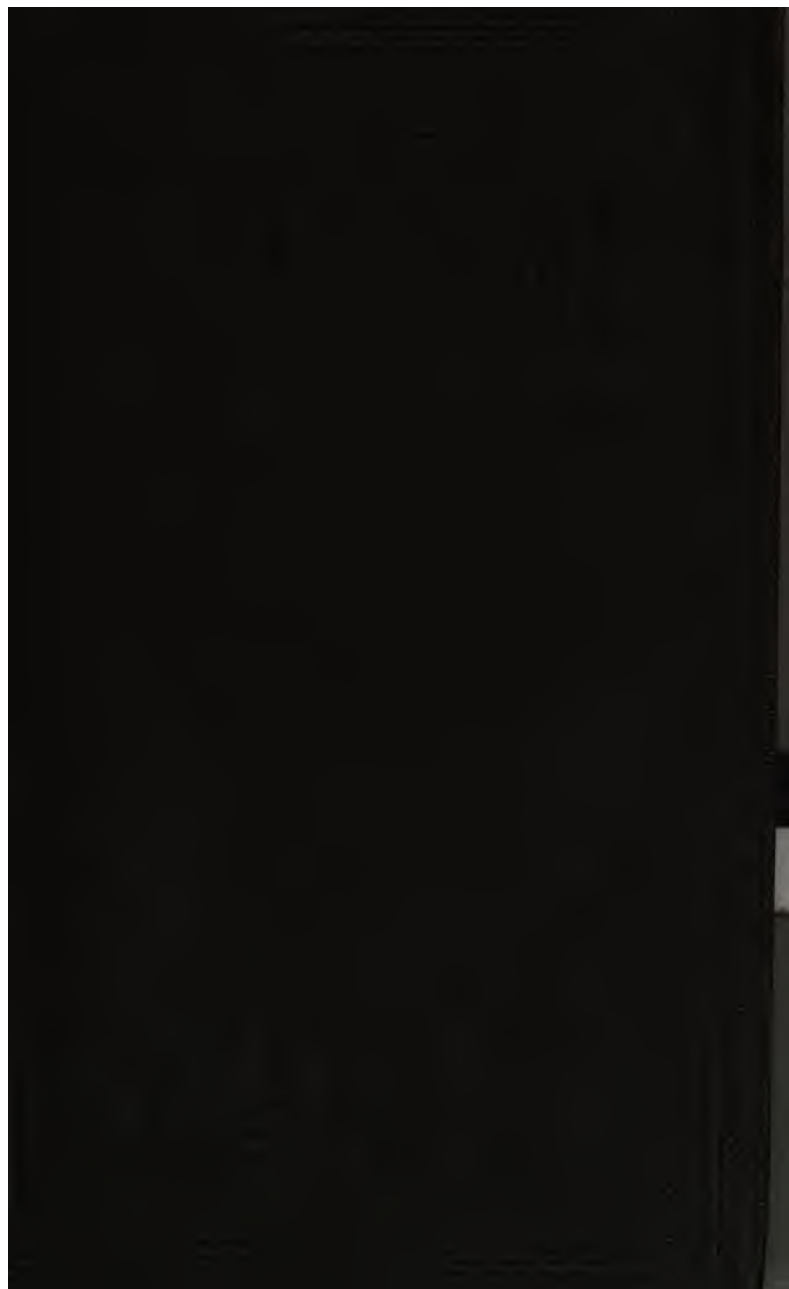
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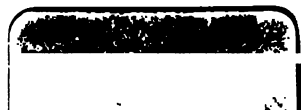
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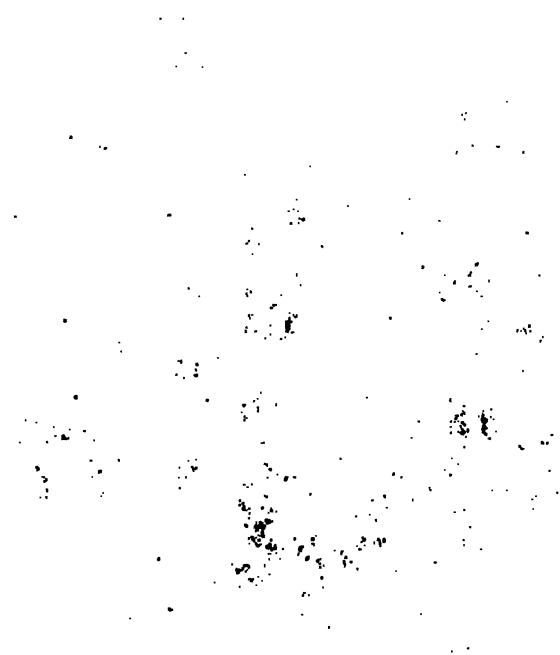
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THE HOUSE OF THE FUTURE



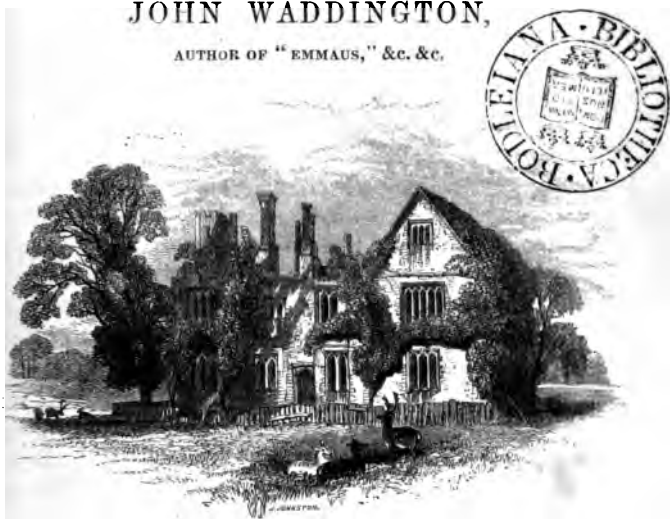
THE HOUSE OF THE FUTURE
BY JOHN RUSKIN
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY J. R. COOPER

LONDON



JOHN PENRY,
THE
PILGRIM MARTYR,
1559—1593.

BY
JOHN WADDINGTON,
AUTHOR OF "EMMAUS," &c. &c.

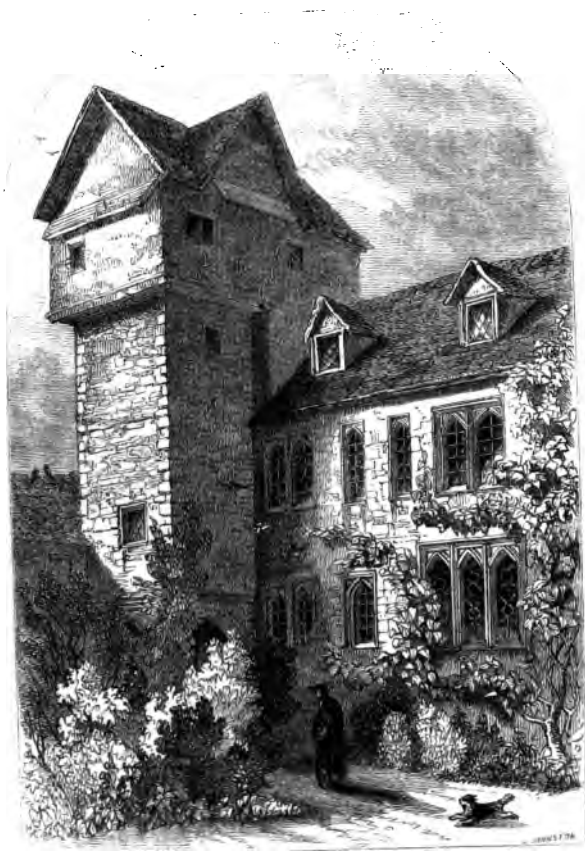


RUINS IN THE PARK OF PAWSLEY MANOR. See page 36.

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ST. ALBAN HALL, OXFORD, PENRY'S COLLEGE. *See page 7.*

210. L. 418.





## P R E F A C E .

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It was the last request of Penry to his faithful wife, that she would, immediately after his death, collect his letters and papers, and, though imperfect, publish them to the world, that "no small light" might be given "to the cause." The widow of the youthful martyr was able to accomplish this sacred object only in part.

Documents of great importance were impounded by the authorities; and more effectually to divert attention from the crime of his judicial murder, his name was unjustly associated with the authorship of the "Mar-prelate" tracts. After the lapse of two hundred and sixty years, many original letters are recovered. The light thrown on his own character, and on th

springs of the great movement which led to the formation of Voluntary Churches in England, and to the foundation of America, is most remarkable.

The following narrative contains memorials written in the dungeon, and in the immediate prospect of martyrdom: second to none in thrilling pathos and moral sublimity, if we except only the inspired epistles. The juncture at which the disclosure is made will not escape the observation of the thoughtful. Penry and his companions could only pass through the Thermopylæ of religious freedom in single file, and with certain death. Myriads now advance as an army with banners. It cannot be, that any who value the blessings of Christian civilization will be contented long to remain in ignorance of the toils, and sacrifices, and sufferings, of its immortal pioneers.

The author feels grateful pleasure in acknowledging his obligation for the facilities afforded in his researches—too extensive for enumeration.

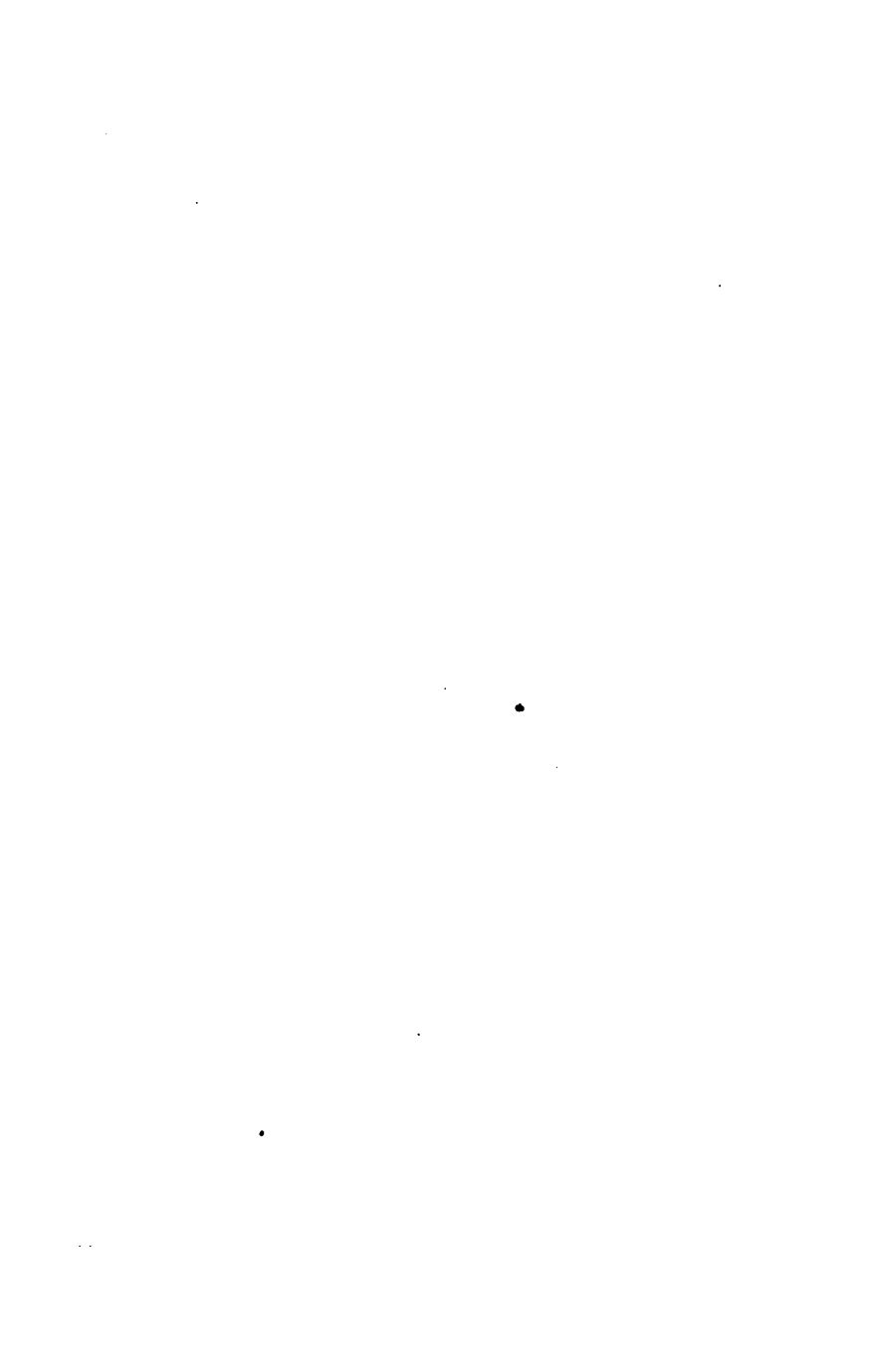
Especially, he is indebted to the Right Hon. Lord ~~Calder~~ Calhoun, for access to the Yelverton collection, and to the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston and Sir Frederick Madden, for permission to take fac-similies of rare and valuable autographs. Considering the contingencies that might lead to the destruction of these precious manuscripts, copies have been taken by Mr. Lane, of

Chancery-lane, with a minute accuracy that makes the resemblance to the originals perfect.

From the librarians of various collections, national, provincial, and private, the author has received the utmost courtesy and attention, and would mention, with grateful respect:—Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Cogan, Mr. Knyvett, Mr. Watts, and Mr. Thompson. The volumes kindly lent by his faithful and venerable friend Mr. Hanbury, he has found to be invaluable. To his correspondents in Wales, the Rev. D. Williams, the Rev. D. Morgan, the Rev. E. Davies, (Brecon), he tenders cordial thanks, and to his esteemed brother the Rev. H. Richard.

•

*Southwark, March 1, 1854.*



## C O N T E N T S .



### I.

Ancestry of Penry—Birth Place—Education at Cambridge—Sympathy with the Church of Rome—College Companions—Conversion—Removal to Oxford—St. Alban Hall—Puritan Excitement—First Publication—Whitgift—Penry's Imprisonment, Examination, and Discharge . . . . . 1—18.

### II.

Marriage of Penry and Settlement at Northampton—Friendship of Sir Richard Knightley—Fawsley Manor—Decree of the Star Chamber—Secret Council—Pilgrim Press—Meeting of Penry, Udall, and Wigginton—Mrs. Crane—Treatise on the State of Wales—Second Publication Printed at Mouldsey—Voluntary Principle—"Mar-prelate" Tracts—Removal of the Press to Northampton—Waldegrave sent to Scotland . . . 19—36.

## III.

**Trials of Penry—Attack of Dr. Some—Outrages committed by Walton, the Beadle—Excitement in Northampton—Bishop Cooper's Reply to the Tracts—Troubles of Whitgift—Proclamation against Puritan Books—Penry at Coventry—Removal of the Press—Mr. Hales—Lady Wigston, Job Throgmorton—Penry's Departure to the North . . . . . 37—49.**

## IV.

**State of Religious Parties—Penry's Occupation in Scotland—Seizure of the Press in Manchester—Letter of Whitgift—Examination of the Printers—Sympathy of the Presbyterians in Scotland with the English Puritans—Letter of Queen Elizabeth—Proclamation against Penry—Decree of Banishment—Penry's Defence—Protestants of Geneva—Appeal of Penry—Debate in Parliament—Separatists in the South . . . . . 50—83.**

## V.

**Penry in Southwark—John Udall—Puritans and Separatists—Meeting of Penry, Greenwood, and Francis Johnson, at the house of Roger Rippon—Ordination Solemnities—Zeal of Penry—Manuscript Treatise—Imprisonment and Examination of Members of the Church—Death of Roger Rippon—Church Meeting in Bridewell—Apprehension of Johnson and Greenwood—Manifesto of the Separatists—Martyrdom of Barrowe and Greenwood—Care of Penry for the Bereaved Church . . . . . 84—121.**

**CONTENTS.**

vii.

**VI.**

|                                                                                                                                          |          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Imprisonment of Penry—Petition of his Wife—Certificate<br>of Penry in Favour of the Gaoler—Letters to his Wife<br>and Children . . . . . | 122—145. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|

**VII.**

|                                |          |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| Examination of Penry . . . . . | 146—168. |
|--------------------------------|----------|

**VIII.**

|                                                                        |          |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Penry in the Prison Cell.—Letter to the Distressed<br>Church . . . . . | 169—177. |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|

**IX.**

|                                                                                                                                                        |          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Riot in Southwark—Perplexity of the Prelates—Penry's<br>Legal Declaration—Private Papers—Trial—Memorial<br>to Lord Burleigh and Protestation . . . . . | 178—201. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|

**X.**

|                                              |          |
|----------------------------------------------|----------|
| Martyrdom of Penry and its Effects . . . . . | 202—208. |
|----------------------------------------------|----------|



## APPENDIX.

---

|                                                   | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------------------|------|
| MORAL CONDITION OF WALES . . . . .                | 209  |
| FAWSLEY MANOR AND SIR RICHARD KNIGHTLEY . . . . . | 209  |
| MISERABLE STATE OF GERMANY . . . . .              | 211  |
| JOB THEROGMORTON . . . . .                        | 217  |
| PENRY AND THE "MAR-PRELATE" TRACTS . . . . .      | 217  |
| SYMPATHY OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND . . . . .        | 230  |
| SCHEME OF PURITAN REFORMATION . . . . .           | 233  |
| BROWNISTS: WHY SEPARATISTS SO CALLED . . . . .    | 238  |
| JOHN UDALL . . . . .                              | 239  |
| SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS . . . . .                     | 241  |
| PETITION OF THE PURITAN MINISTERS . . . . .       | 244  |
| LETTER OF HENRY BARROWE . . . . .                 | 248  |
| THE BADGE OF TRUTH . . . . .                      | 252  |
| KINDNESS OF THE GAOLER . . . . .                  | 254  |
| JENKIN JONES . . . . .                            | 255  |
| MEMORIAL OF THE CHURCH TO THE LORD MAYOR—         |      |
| THE MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES—PROPOSALS FOR          | 255  |
| CONFERENCE . . . . .                              |      |
| PENRY'S MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT . . . . .      | 270  |
| BANCROFT'S PROMOTION . . . . .                    | 281  |
| CRUELTY OF WHITGIFT . . . . .                     | 282  |
| HISTORICAL LOCALITIES IN SOUTHWARK . . . . .      | 283  |

# JOHN PENRY.

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## I.

Fondly I pursued,  
Even when a child, the streams unheard, unseen,  
Through tangled woods, impending rocks between ;  
Or, free as air, with flying inquest viewed  
The sullen reservoirs, whence their bold brood,  
Pure as the morning—fretful, boisterous, keen—  
Green as the salt sea billows—white and green,  
Poured down the hills, a choral multitude.  
Nor have I tracked their course for scanty gains ;  
They taught me random cares and truant joys,  
That shield from mischief, and preserve from stains,  
Vague minds, while men are growing out of boys.  
Maturer Fancy owes to their rough noise  
Impetuous thoughts that brook not servile reins.

WORDSWORTH.

---

ON a beautiful and commanding eminence, gently rising from the north bank of the Usk, in Breconshire, there stood (in the sixteenth century) a goodly mansion, called OLD GROVE.\* It was so called from the stately trees, of luxuriant growth, which ornamented the extensive grounds.

The river—gliding clear and unrippled through a part of its course, and anon rushing as an impetuous

---

\* Lwyncyatefn.

current broken into cascades and foaming eddies—lent a peculiar charm to the landscape. The situation of Old Groye was reckoned one of the most romantic in South Wales.

At the period to which we refer, it was occupied by an ancient family, that traced its descent from Elystan Glodwydd, Prince of Ferlex, and which, from one of its ancestors, Henry Ap Owen (and in compliment, it is supposed, to Henry VII.), took the surname of Henry, or Ap Henry, gliding in common parlance into Penri or Penry.\* For fourteen generations the Penries retained undisturbed possession of their patrimonial domain; but they were never affluent, and as the branches of the family extended, they became impoverished and sank into obscurity.

JOHN PENRY, the “morning star” of the reformation in Cambria, according to local tradition, sprang from this stock; but in what part of the genealogical tree it is now somewhat difficult to determine. †

\* Jones's History of Breconshire.

† The Venerable D. Williams, pastor of the Independent Church at Troedrihwaldar, is a descendant of one branch of the family. What is better, he inherits the noble spirit of the Martyr. For fifty years he has maintained a high reputation in his native country as a preacher and pastor, and is now a hale and vigorous workman. He is the oldest minister in Wales; and, though now seventy-five years of age, preaches regularly three times every Sunday. He commenced preaching when he was twenty-one; was ordained a minister in 1803 (receiving, at first, £15 a year salary); and though his engagements have been very varied and laborious, and necessitated frequent journeys across the mountains, and almost pathless wilds, through rain and snow—he has never once been disabled from preaching. In his younger days he was a splendid horseman, and even now he would tire many a hunter. He must have spent some years in the saddle, for it is almost incredible the number of miles he has travelled on horseback as the apostle of Breconshire, and as a regular preacher for forty years at all the large out-of-door gatherings in North and South Wales. The church at Troedrihwaldar has had only three ministers during the last 160 years. The present minister has been its pastor for the last fifty years; his predecessor, the Rev. Isaac Price, was the minister for fifty years; and his predecessor, the Rev. Thomas

Two parishes in the Builth district—Cefnbrith in Llangamarch, and Merthyr-Cynog—claim the honour of his nativity. In the judgment of the best informed, Cefnbrith has the more just pretension.\* Penry was born in 1559, the first year of the reign of Elizabeth. Nothing is known to us respecting the days of his childhood; but those who admire his character associate with his memory the picturesque walks in this locality, and think of him as wandering among the countless streams of Trecastle mountain, or, in his meditative moods, seeking retirement in the deep and lovely dells in the little vale of Crom-y-dwr.

That he might "procure the good of the land where he first saw the light of the sun," his parents sent him to Cambridge. He was admitted to Peterhouse as an undersizer, at the age of nineteen. This College, the oldest in the University, stands at the entrance of the town from the London road. The present building is of more recent date; and no part of the former structure remains except the chancel of little St. Mary's Church, which the scholars of Peterhouse used as a place of worship, and to which they had access by a stone staircase. The library, founded by Dr. Perne, was esteemed a good one for the time; and, amongst other rarities, it contained a beautiful manuscript Latin Bible, given as early as November 28, 1300.

**Morgan**, was the minister for sixty years. Not less significant is the fact, as attested by the present minister, that during those 160 years the church has enjoyed uninterrupted peace and harmony. Mr. Williams, during the fifty years of his ministry, has received above fifteen hundred into church fellowship.

\* MSS. of Rev. D. Morgan and Rev. D. Williams.

The curriculum (or "projecte" as it was called) of the university, in the sixteenth century, was framed with due regard to the capacity of the alumni. On their entrance, the "young scholars" met to hear the lecture on the "Preceptes of Rethoricke." In the second and third year they attended the class of the "Logicke Reader." "Bacchellers of Arte" were allowed to attend the "Philosophie Lecture," and also to hear discourses on the "Arte of Arithmeticke, of Geometrie, of Cosmographie, and Astronomie."

The same consideration for the equable working of the institution was evinced in the rules of the "divinitie schole." The Professor appointed to this branch of university learning was directed to "reade or to interpret some part of the Holy Scriptures." Besides the classes we have mentioned, were those of the "Hebrewew Reader," the "Greeke Reader," the "Queen's Reader," and "Lady Margaret's." At one time "Mr. Lively" had the "Hebrewew" appointment, and "John Styll, S.T.P.," was Margaret Professor.

Provision for poor students was only slender. In the time of Master Lever, their case was even pitiable. They rose, he tells us, between four and five o'clock. At ten they dined. A pennyworth of beef was the allowance for four, with a "few porage" made of the broth of the same beef, with salt and oatmeal, and nothing else. At five o'clock in the evening, they had supper on similar fare. After the studies of the day, being without fire, they walked or ran up and down half an hour "to get a heate on their feete" before going to bed.

Matters were slightly improved before the young student from Brecon entered the house. Margaret Deane gave five pounds for the relief and bringing up in learning of our poor scholar, and to those who were in "great neede" small sums were lent on "real caution," out of the "chistes," to be paid within a year. Penry, however, had no occasion to avail himself of this fund, for he had a kind mother. She provided for him a little store, when he left home, and did not forget him when far away. "The Lord used her," says the affectionate and grateful son, "as the only means of stay for me in the beginning of my studies."\*

The religious excitement caused by the zeal of the early Puritans at Cambridge, had in some degree subsided when Penry commenced his course. The expulsion of Cartwright from the University, some years before, and the severe measures subsequently adopted, to reduce his adherents to silence, had allayed the fervour which formerly existed. The leaven of puritanical principles was nevertheless at work; but there were fewer external indications of their existence and power. With his fellow collegians, Penry observed the forms appointed by law. His sympathies, however, were with the members of the Romish church; and when he could secure opportunity, he joined them in worship, and sometimes stole out to assist the priest at midnight mass.

Totally unacquainted with the Scriptures, and fascinated by its symbols and services, the Church of Rome

might have found in him a devotee of the strictest order.\* But from this enchanting reverie he was roused by the earnest and scriptural teaching of the Puritan ministers who yet remained at the University, and introduced him to their assemblies in the town, and in various parts of the vicinity. His ardent and susceptible mind was attracted by the luminous consistency of their example to the close examination of their religious principles. All discussion of subjects relating to ecclesiastical discipline—even in Latin, and for mere private improvement—was strictly prohibited by the authorities.

Transgression of this rule, moreover, was followed by peremptory dismissal from the University. Nevertheless, the brethren who had felt the power of the truth, found frequent opportunities for private conference. They met weekly for united prayer, and the careful perusal of the Word of God. The young Welsh student, in these exercises, was convinced of sin, and led to personal faith in Christ.

The change he experienced essentially altered his plans. John Udall,† a fellow collegian, often joined him in his walks, and they strengthened each other for the days of trial and conflict yet before them. Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, of the same University, formed a friendship equally intimate and faithful. They were all destined for the honours of martyrdom. Penry, amidst these new associations, did not neglect his studies—rather he pursued them with fresh avidity, stimulated by nobler and purer motives.

\* Wood's Athens. Vol. i., p. 227. † A New Discovery, &c., p. 2.

In 1583, he took a degree, and nearly completed the exercises required for Master of Arts. Before the term arrived, however, for the examination, he left Cambridge and entered himself as a commoner at Oxford. The reason for this apparently abrupt departure from his *Alma Mater* is to be found in the comparative state of the two Universities at the time, in relation to ecclesiastical reform. At Cambridge, the Puritans were closely watched, and often rigorously punished, whilst at the sister University they found protection and encouragement. The Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of Oxford, inclined to their views; as did Dr. John Rainolds, Reader of Divinity, and afterwards president of Corpus Christi College. Those who laboured to reduce the Church to its normal state of purity and order, naturally preferred, under these circumstances, the Isis to the Cam. On some account, also, Oxford was the resort, at this period, of students from Wales—so much so, that in several Colleges their votes had a preponderating influence.\* It can excite no surprize, therefore, to find Penry at St. Alban Hall. In the beginning of July, 1586, he was licensed to proceed in arts as a member of that hall; and on the 11th of the same month completed the degree in an act celebrated in the Church of St. Mary. Two years before, several ministers from Scotland visited the University, in conjunction with the Puritan leaders, and held meetings amongst the students for the promotion of their cause. Several resolutions were framed for the adoption of the students, and circulated for signature.



The first of these, relating to ordination, was to the following effect—"Let no man (though he be an University-man) offer himself to the ministry: nor let any man take upon him an uncertain and vague ministry, though it be offered unto him. But such as be called to the ministry by some certain church, let them impart it unto that classis or conference (whereof themselves are), or else unto some greater church assembly; and if such shall be found fit by them, then let them be commended by their letters unto the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers by him."\*. The rest of the articles—eleven in number—were in harmony with the first, and all designed covertly to introduce the Presbyterian form of church government into congregations nominally under episcopal rule. It was provided, that in the case of risk from undue precipitation, delay might ensue in order to seek counsel from the classes. Many were favourable to the design, but feared the issue. The younger students approved the plan, and excited good hope in the mind of Mr. Gellibrand, who was entrusted with the delicate mission of enquiry. Penry so far acquiesced as to decline the offer of ordination, and contented himself with the ordinary license of University preacher. Fluent in address, and exceedingly earnest, his ministry excited considerable attention. He might have risen to preferment if he could have given up what were deemed his strange peculiarities. But he had counted the cost. The truth, to him, was more precious than life; and he was willing to accept with it the dowry of persecution. "As for the Church of

\* Wood's *Historia Oxoniensis*, p. 201.

God," he says, "into which I have been begotten, through the word preached by means of my abode in England in these peaceable days of Her Highness, I have wholly dedicated myself to seek the flourishing estate thereof by labouring to beautify the same, both in plucking up by the roots these filthy Italian weeds, wherewith it is now miserably deformed, and planting therein whatsoever might be for the comeliness of God's orchard."

The zeal of the reformer, at the same time, was subordinate to his plans and purposes as an evangelist. From the period of his conversion, to the latest hour of life, the heart of Penry was set on the salvation of his countrymen. The moral condition of Wales was deplorable in the extreme.\* For thirty years, the reformation had been nominally established in England, yet with little or no moral advantage to the principality. The Scriptures were not wholly translated into the native tongue, and very inadequate provision was made for the religious instruction of the people. Penry was the "first that publicly laboured to have the blessed seed of the Gospel sown in those barren mountains." While a student, and as such little known, he made himself thoroughly acquainted with various districts.

In his visits to Breconshire, he was quietly active in the dissemination of the Gospel, and to this day four Churches in the neighbourhood of Llangamarch trace their origin to his personal efforts.† He might have continued these private exertions for some time, without interruption; but his concern for the evangelization of the whole country waxed so intense, that he could not.

\*Appendix A.

† Rev. D. Morgan's MSS.

withhold the public utterance of the sentiments awakened by the contemplation of its moral wretchedness. Before he left Oxford, he resolved therefore to issue a treatise he had prepared on this all-absorbing subject.\* A few passages selected from the opening address will show the spirit of the writer :—

“To all that mourn in Sion, until they see Jerusalem in perfect beauty, and, namely, to my fathers and brethren of the Church of England, grace, mercy, and love in the Lord Jesus be multiplied.

“It hath been the just complaint (beloved in the Lord) of the godly in all ages, that God’s eternal and blessed verity, unto whom the very heavens themselves should stoop and give obeisance, hath been of that small reckoning and account in the eyes of the most part of our great men; as they valued it to be but a mere loss of time to yield any attendance thereupon. Hence it cometh to pass, that the truth being at any time to be countenanced, none very often are found in the train thereof, but the most contemptible and refuse of men; and because these also being guilty unto themselves of great infirmities (and foul sins many times), and not ignorant that affliction is the sequel of earnest and sincere profession, do pull their necks from the yoke, and their shoulders from the burden; the

\* It is entitled “A Treatise containing the Equity of an Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited to Her Gracious Majesty, and the High Court of Parliament, in the behalf of the country of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospel among those people; wherein is also set down as much of the estate of our people as without offense could be made known, to the end (if it please God) may be pitied by them who are not of this assembly, and so they also may be drawn to labour on our behalf.”—Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes—to be sold in Paul’s Church-yard, at the sign of the Tiger’s Head—1587.

Lord is constrained very severely to deal with them before they can be gotten to go on His message. And, which is far more lamentable, inasmuch as the drowsy and careless security, the cold and frozen affections of the godly themselves, in most weighty affairs, is never wanting—their careful diligence and earnest zeal poured with hearty and vehement prayers always desired. The Lord suffereth His own cause to contract some spot from their sinful hands. These considerations, beloved, but especially the latter, kept me back a great while from this action, which I have now, by the goodness of God, brought to this pass you see. It would be a grievous wound unto me, all my life long, if the dignity of a cause, worthy to have the shoulders of all princes under the cope of heaven for its footstool, should be any whit diminished by my foul hands, which notwithstanding I protest to have washed as far as their stains would permit.

But I am not a little comforted—two ways. First—that the Lord knoweth, He thrust me almost against my will hereunto, and forasmuch as I see the honor of Jesus Christ (in whose countenance God the Father hath lovingly winked at my sins, and whose is all that I have) standeth before the progress of the word preached among us. My silence—though to the danger of my life, shall not betray His honour. Is not He a God? Will he not be religiously worshipped? Will He not have their religion framed according to His own mind? Hath He not regard whether His true service be yielded Him or not? If he have, woe be unto that conscience that knoweth this and keepeth it

secret, or is slack in the promoting thereof. Seeing it pleased Him—who also separated me from my mother's womb—to stir me up hereunto, I doubt not but He will give that success of my labours that may be most to His glory. Surely, by His assistance, I neither can nor will be slack. The dignity of the cause I hope will be regarded. If not, importance must take no denial in the matter of our God.

“My second comfort is—that what effect soever shall ensue my pains—I seek not my own, but their's whom it concerneth,—viz., my parents and brethren, according to the flesh, whose state is so miserable at this day, that I think it were great indiscreetness for me to spare any speech that were likely to prevail. Nay, I would to God my life could win them the preaching of the Gospel. Our sickness is at the heart—it must not be dallied with—either present remedy or undoubted perdition.”

In tears and with a trembling hand—Penry discloses the “scars of spiritual misery” by which the fair form of his native land was so sadly disfigured. “Thousands of our people”—he says, “know Jesus Christ to be neither God nor man—priest nor prophet—almost never heard of him—O desolate and forlorn condition!” Preaching itself, in many parts, is quite unknown. In some places, a sermon is read once in three months. Superstition of the most drivelling nature, alone keeps the mass of the population from a blank and cheerless atheism.

This mournful condition of the people the Evangelical patriot traces mainly to non-residence, and unpreaching

ministers—ignorant of the native language, and altogether unacquainted with the truths of the Gospel.\*

Penry expresses his strong conviction, that for these complicated and deeply rooted evils, no remedy can be found in any political expedient. "A conscience," he says, "must be wrought in the people;" without this, their social regeneration is an impossibility. The Gospel alone, he contends, can meet the exigency—the Gospel preached in the mother tongue, and by men who have felt its power.

The treatise contains many practical suggestions. Penry recommends, in the first instance, that on the coast, and in the border towns, where English is spoken, preachers should be sent from the Universities. Three hundred may be found there for the work—"able men, every way, with a little practice." Yet, he adds, "the curse of Gerizim" should not rest on the districts where nothing but Welsh is spoken. "It will be hard," he continues, "if a dozen of the University preachers were not of our own people." For these, he proposes a kind of spiritual conscription. "Our brethren, which are of the ministry in England, should be sent home. Their flocks might be otherwise provided for; and they depart, with consent, because the necessities of the Church require it." With respect to another class of agents he is more peremptory:—"A number of the idle drones,† now in our ministry, would

\* A curious account of their moral condition is contained in the Lansdowne MSS., 111, Art. 4. The writer says—"More than the name of God, they know nothing at all." They take long journeys, barefoot, to the ruins of some ancient church or famous well; and there, or on the mountain sides, listen to the minstrels who, accompanied by the harp, celebrate the deeds of their ancestors.

† "Two species of drones" are described in similar terms by the Edinburgh reviewer, No. 200, pp. 328, 329.

become fit for that work in one year, if preaching were but here and there scattered among us; and they driven weekly to exercise, where it may be, seeing that their undoing is not intended, but their good."

Appealing to persons whose hearts God might incline to the service, he says—"There be many worthy men in the Church of England that now exercise not their public ministry—these would be provided for among us. I hope they will not be unwilling to come and gain souls unto Jesus Christ. Private men that never were of University, have well profited in divinity. These no doubt would prove more upright in heart, as the Levites in the like distress—2 Chron. xxix. 34—than many learned men. As for their maintenance, they whose hearts the Lord hath touched, would thresh to get their living rather than the people should want preaching. Our gentlemen and people, if they knew the good that ensueth, preaching would soon be brought to contribute. They should be constrained thereunto. Salvation were not bought too dear with the very flesh of our arms."

To enforce his appeal, Penry reminds "the beloved Church of England," that the cause of the Reformation is threatened in its last entrenchment. "The Churches of God round about us go to wreck, in France, Belgia, and a great part of High Dutch. I would Scotland had continued in her first love, and that the hands of the builders were strengthened among you. Come what will come, stand you manfully in the faith, my fathers and brethren, and according to the counsel of Jude, renew the battle again with your spiritual enemy,

and contend with earnestness. It may please God, though the lively branches be cut off, to quicken us dead boughs, by the virtue of our Head—Jesus Christ. I doubt not, by the Lord's goodness, if the truth be established among us through preaching, but that all who profess goodness in Europe shall heartily thank the Lord for our zeal and courage therein."

Finally, and with the fire of his noble race, he says—"It might grieve us the less to be denied the Gospel unless the same were the inheritance which our forefathers—the Cymbrû Britons—many hundred years ago possessed in this land. For although at this date we cannot call true religion by the right name, our superstitious observances are not the blossoms of that ancient truth our forefathers possessed and sealed with their blood, but of that lifeless and brutish stock in Rome, planted in England by Augustine, that proud friar, whose tyrannical proceedings our divines of Wales resisted even to the loss of their lives. We ask nothing but the possession and inheritance of our fathers to be restored unto us, which they could not alienate from their children."

A petition, embodying the substance of the printed address, was presented to Parliament by one of Penry's countrymen, who, in a speech to the House, affirmed the truth of its statements. No objection was raised on the part of the members—perhaps from the desire to evade the question, encumbered with difficulties, and one which was so likely to offend the Court.

Connected with the University of Cambridge, as fellow of Peterhouse, was a divinity student of another



spirit—the senior of Penry by many years, who had now reached the zenith of distinction and influence. In the early part of his career, he had been exposed to the violence of the Marian prosecution and was sheltered from the rage of his popish adversaries by the interposition of a Roman Catholic tutor, who evinced a partiality for him notwithstanding his Protestant predilections. He was trained under the care of the martyrs Bradford and Ridley, successively, and promised by his zeal and assiduity to become a devoted champion for the truth sealed by their blood. His first sermon was preached from the words of the apostle—"I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ,"—but in more auspicious times, he forgot the sentiment of the text leaned invariably to the side of power, and became the unscrupulous advocate of prerogative against all considerations either of equity or compassion.

He rose in consequence, by rapid steps, to the Primacy, and inaugurated his accession to the Archbishopal throne by a sermon on Titus iii. i.—"Put them in mind to be subject to principalities." Rank—power—patronage, and indomitable energy were all devoted by him to the one purpose of his life, the maintenance of the Anglican system in its integrity, and for the utter and prompt suppression of every movement intended to promote change or reform. Deaf to remonstrance, and insensible to the suffering of his victims, his career was one of unmitigated spiritual despotism. Violent in temperament—subtle in disputation, and of singular agility, he lost no imaginable advantage. His ascendancy at court, in the council chamber, and in the

courts of law, was alike complete. Prelate—inquisitor—polemic and judge—he concentrated with the utmost skill all the forces of oppression, and attained an eminence in ecclesiastical tyranny, second to none. The name of WHITGIFT, associated at once with meanness and malignity, excited, in circles where the love of freedom was not extinct, mingled feelings of dread and detestation. The treatise of Penry naturally awakened the keenest hostility of this determined opponent. He had been himself vice-president of the Marches of Wales, and in that office resisted, uniformly, any plans for the amelioration of the country, submitted by men of eminent station and extensive influence. For an obscure student, therefore, to project a general scheme for the evangelization of the Principality, and, above all, to suggest the idea of introducing lay agency, was an offence that fairly took the haughty prelate by surprise, whilst it enkindled his sternest resentment. Orders were issued immediately for the seizure of the book, and the apprehension of its author. Penry was thrown into prison, and the strictest injunction given to the gaoler to keep him safely. For a month he remained in doubt of the charge that would be preferred against him. At the expiration of that term he was brought up for examination, or rather to receive a bitter reprimand.

The enterprise of Penry was condemned as “intolerable,” and the idea broached in his treatise, that no unpreaching clergyman was a true Christian minister, the magisterial inquisitor denounced as an execrable heresy. Dark, lustrous, and vindictive, the eye of

the primate\* flashed on the young reformer, as he uttered words of imperious menace, and violent reproach—but, for a moment, the intrepid Penry never quailed. In a calm and impressive tone, he rejoined—"I thank God that I ever knew such a heresy, as I will, by the grace of God, sooner leave my life than leave it."

His Grace of Winchester, who was present replied—"I tell thee, it is a heresy, and thou shalt recant it as a heresy."

"Never," replied Penry, "God willing, so long as I live.†

He was remanded for the time, and, after further imprisonment, liberated until his case should assume an aspect that might warrant, in the opinion of his judges, more decisive measures.

\* See the Portrait of Whitgift in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, Vol. ii. p. 335.

† Strype's *Annals*, Vol. iii. pp. 573, 574.—MS. *Chronology*, Vol. ii. p. 487.

## II.

I have a work—  
 The finger of my soul doth point it out :  
 I trust God's finger points it also out—  
 I must attempt it ; if my sinews fail,  
 On my unsheltered head men's scorn will fall,  
 Like a shower of fire. Yet, if one tear  
 Were mingled with them, it were less to bear—

————— I'll give thee tears !

A. SMITH.

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ON mature reflection, Penry had the strongest natural inducements to comply with the demands of Whitgift. His life was rendered doubly valuable and pleasant in the same degree, from his entrance about this time into the most sacred and intimate of human relationships. But the surrender required by the archbishop could not be made. Had an exorbitant tax been levied—however oppressive or unjust—it might have been paid to the uttermost farthing. Had the offending student been called to forego academical distinctions, or to relinquish honours dearly won, he might have yielded

every title, and, with them, every prospect of emolument. Or if the sentiments uttered by him, and deemed so obnoxious, had been imbibed without enquiry, and broached as matters of vague and idle opinion, they might have been disavowed with the same levity. But for a sincere and earnest man to part with his profoundest and most cherished convictions, would be to annihilate his conscience, and to render, if possible, his very being a nonentity. The truth was in him—and there it would abide for ever—immortal as the soul in which it was enshrined. Moreover, he felt that he held that truth in trust for his country, and for the world, as the most precious endowment God himself could give; and yet further, that he was under obligation, no less than infinite, to contend for it in the sight and strength of Him who had constituted him a witness, and charged him to be faithful unto death.

In these views, the wife of Penry entirely concurred. Gentle, modest, affectionate, and withal devoted to the cause of freedom and of truth, she was eminently fitted to be the companion of the young reformer and confessor. Meek and unobtrusive, she took no part in public service. Seldom she could offer advice or suggestion, but she honoured her husband with the most loving confidence. She complained of no privation, and bore, with uncomplaining patience, the loss of his society in seasons when it would have afforded the sweetest pleasure, or the best alleviation—ready to undertake the tedious and perilous journey, in seasons the most inclement; or to pass months in loneliness, or in the solitary care of her helpless babe. She would

do nothing to quench the zeal or to enhance the trials of her faithful partner.\* She had no words of flattery, and well she knew that the utterance of them would have been distasteful as injurious. Smiles of approval were almost as unseasonable in the deep affliction both were called to endure, but tears she shed—not of regret, but of profound and tender sympathy—tears, mingled with fervent supplications; and they supplied a balm to him, who was “greatly mindful of them” in absence and in bonds; and though none on earth regarded them besides, they are all written in the book of Divine remembrance.

Penry fixed his residence not far from the house of his father-in-law, Mr. Godley, at Northampton. There, also, he was near many of the Puritan ministers, and often met with them in fraternal conference, and for Christian worship.

A few ancient families in that locality espoused their cause; and through the influence of Mr. Snape, of Fawsley, Sir Richard Knightley identified himself with them, and lent the aid of his purse. The manor-house of Fawsley contains a spacious hall, well adapted for an assembly of divines, still kept in admirable preservation. Enclosed with a rich expanse of wood, and standing on a gentle elevated lawn, enlivened by two fine sheets of water, it furnished a beautiful retreat for the band of Christian brethren who yet remained true to the cause for which so many had been exiled or cast into prison. Sir Richard was the steadfast friend of Penry, and soon after his settlement at Northampton

\* Penry's Letters in Yelverton MSS.

he convened a meeting of ministers and friends to consult as to the best course of action under the difficulties that accumulated upon them every day. The High Commission made a determined effort to suppress their preaching, and long before a decree was issued from the Star Chamber to deter them from printing.\*

Under this severe and twofold compression, mentally, they had scarcely freedom to breathe.

The secret council at Fawsley were called upon to decide with respect to the establishment and management of a press. With the exception of Penry, the members of the little conclave were mainly interested in the advancement of church reform. "The whole controversy," said one of their number, "between us and the bishops is, whether the external government of the Church of Christ be a thing so prescribed by the Lord in the New Testament, as it is not lawful for any man to alter the same."

Penry accepted this statement of the question at issue; but his opposition to the Anglican prelacy arose chiefly from the obstruction it caused to the entrance of the Gospel in the land of his birth. Had the primacy been represented by one who, like Leighton or Sumner, concealed the lustre of official rank beneath

\* The decree of the Star Chamber, (January 29, 1566,) was to the following effect :—

"That no person should print or publish any book against the Queen's injunctions, ordinances, or letters patent, set forth, or to be set forth, or against the meaning of them.

"That such offenders should forfeit all their books and copies, and suffer three months imprisonment, and never practice the art of printing any more.

"That no person should sell, bind, or stitch such books, upon pain of twenty shillings for every book.

the veil of Christian humility, and laboured as the lowliest for the extension of the truth as it is in Jesus, he would probably have had no heart for contention on points of discipline. "The least part of the sins of our bishops," he says, "hath been in the maintenance of unprofitable, superstitious, and corrupt ceremonies. If they would but yield free passage unto the truth, and her authority unto the church in other matters, they should not be greatly molested for these things. Our controversies arise because they are not permitted, with the consent of the servants of God, to smother, persecute, deprave, and corrupt the truth of that religion, which in name they profess; and to undermine and lead captive the Church of God in this land." In the free discussion of the question, as to the establishment of a printing press, it was found that some were of opinion that the most effective publications, under existing circumstances, would be those which, with keenness and severity, should expose the pride, luxury, and oppression of their adversaries. They said—"Since all serious and sober means to reclaim the bishops have proved ineffectual, let us try other and more pungent. If we cannot make them odious, like Elijah with the prophets of Baal, let us try to make them ridiculous." Penry was not of this number. "He would not," he said, "feed the humours of the busy-bodies, who, encreasing themselves still unto more ungodliness, think nothing so well spoken or written as that which is satirical, and bitinglly done, against lord bishops."

Some of the brethren, even, maintained that the



exercise of wit in the cause of religion is unseemly. "Carnal mirth," they said, "while it tickles the flesh, wounds the soul. An angel thought himself too good, and Satan not bad enough, to have railing speeches brought against him." Hours passed away, and with them the opportunity of action. The project would, in all probability, have fallen to the ground but for the solicitude of Penry for the spiritual welfare of his countrymen. "Since the time of my release," he says, "I see myself bound in conscience not to give over my former purpose in seeking their good by the rooting out of ignorance among them." The question of reformation might be deferred to a more convenient season, but the cause of salvation would admit of no postponement. Penry, in the issue, accepted, therefore, the charge of the ark of freedom, and engaged to provide for it an asylum.

Mrs. Crane, a widow, was the first to find room for the "Pilgrim Press." \* Unmoved by the "afflictions of the Gospel," she offered a part of her dwelling at Mouldsey, in Surrey, as a printing-office. There, Penry spent three weeks at midsummer, 1588; and toward the close of the year he met, at the same place, his friends Udall, and Wigginton, during a brief respite from their long and distressing imprisonment.

The first work sent out by Waldegrave, who was employed at Mouldsey, is entitled "A view of some part of such Public Wants and Disorders as are in the service of God within Her Majesty's country of Wales,

\* "It might well have many errata in it when it was itself a *Pilgrim Press*,"—*Ame's History of Printing*.

together with an Humble Petition unto the High Court of Parliament for their speedy redress."

In the "Epistle to the Reader," Penry speaks of himself as the unfittest instrument under heaven to deal in so weighty a case. "Yet," he says, "I see that the Lord will have the cause once again brought unto the Parliament in my hands, to say whether men will not acknowledge the Gospel and the government of his Son—to wit, the sceptre, whereby alone Christ Jesus ruleth among men, to be worth the entertainment in their assemblies, though it be not accompanied with that worldly majesty wherewith, when He pleaseth, He is able to countenance it.

"The petition being in the behalf of God's honor, and the good of His church—the small regard that the Parliament hath had, heretofore, unto such suits, ought not greatly to discourage me—the number, might, power, and authority of the enemies of the cause much less. He that ruleth the hearts of men can incline them to the setting forth of his own glory, when He thinketh good. That which the Lord, for some cause seeming good unto His wisdom, doth not grant at one time, He (being for the promotion of his honour) lightly bringeth to pass at some other season. And the attempts of his children for building of His church, have not always that success which they wish under their hands; for he useth the endeavours of some not to finish the building—but to be a preparation unto that work which he meaneth to effect by the hand of others."

The tone of the address, like that of the Prophet,

of Anathoth, is that of severity blended with tenderness. With boldness and dignity, he rebukes the conduct of the bishops. "Those, who, notwithstanding their ungodly proceedings," he writes, "have hitherto kept themselves within the bounds of the callings wherein the Lord hath placed them. They have, in all submission and duty, entreated that the cause of God might be equally heard.

"They have never, as yet, presumed themselves to take in hand the correction of anything. But, on the other side, they have always hitherto presently betaken themselves to imprisonments and bonds; and would never suffer the truth to have the hearing, nor any man, with quietness, to stand in the defence thereof. God's servants cannot wink at their proceedings, unless they would betray God's truth and the liberty of the church."

The practical counsels contained in this publication shew that he was something better than a fiery polemic.

"Concerning you, my dear countrymen, whom God, of his infinite mercy, hath translated out of the kingdom of darkness unto the blessed possession of the heavenly Jerusalem, I beseech you, very earnestly, that you would be careful to walk worthy of the Gospel of Christ. Be careful hereof, whether your abode be in England or in Wales. And, at any hand, endeavour to live where you may enjoy the means of the Word. And be careful to have the Lord purely worshipped in your families. Take heed of the profaneness whereby the most, now living, are drawn to contemn God's

judgment against their sins. The time will come, wherein it shall be made known that your hope was not in vain. Labour diligently, as far as your callings will suffer you, to be a means to convey that treasure unto your country whereof you yourselves have been made partakers. Particularly, let me here put you in mind, right honourable and worshipful, who of my country, are in this Parliament, to acquaint that Honourable Court with the miseries of our country, and to be earnest for a redress. And you, my brethren, who, having fit gifts, and are employed in the ministry, either in your own country or in England, forget not, I pray you, to be remembrancers of Sion. Give the Lord no rest until the righteousness thereof break forth as the light, and the salvation thereof as a burning lamp. I would to God that I might join with you, and you with me, in some endeavour whereby the means of salvation might be had in our native country. It is my hearty desire. The God of peace who hath called us to this eternal glory by Christ Jesus, make us perfect, confirm, strengthen, and stablish us to the end. Amen."

Penry closes his supplication to Parliament in this impressive strain:—"Thus I have performed a duty towards the Lord, His church, my country, and you of this High Court, which I would do, if it were to be done again, though I were assured to endanger my life thereby. And be it known, that in this cause I am not afraid of earth. If I perish—I perish. My comfort is, that I know whither to go; and in that day wherein the secrets of all hearts shall be manifested, the sin-

cerity of my cause shall appear. It is enough for me, howsoever, I be miserable in regard of my sins, that yet unto Christ I both live and die ; and I purpose, by His grace, if my life should be prolonged, to live hereafter not unto myself, but unto Him and His church, otherwise than hitherto I have done. The Lord is able to raise up those that are of purer hands and lips than I am, to write and speak in the cause of His honour in Wales. And the Lord make them, whosoever they shall be, never to be wanting unto so good a cause ; the which, because it may be the Lord's pleasure that I shall leave them behind me in the world, I earnestly and vehemently commend unto them, as by this last will and testament. And have you, right honourable and worshipful of this Parliament, poor Wales in remembrance, that the blessing of many a saved soul therein may follow Her Majesty, your honours and worships, overtake you, light upon you, and stick unto you for ever. The eternal God give Her Majesty and you the honour of building His church in Wales. Multiply the days of her peace over us, bless her and you so in this life, that, in the life to come, the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven may be her and your portion. So be it good Lord.

“ By him that hath bound himself continually to pray for your honours and worships,

“ JOHN PENRY.”

This earnest address was immediately followed by an  
 “ Exhortation unto the Governors and People of Her Majesty's country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have

the preaching of the Gospel planted among them,"—  
Ps. cxxxvii. 5, 6; 1 Cor. i. 13; 1 Cor. ix. 13—24.

In this monitory appeal, Penry warns his countrymen against self-deception, and solemnly rebukes them for their apathy in not seeking a faithful ministry.

"You are in the shadows of death!" he exclaims, "Come out, that the Sun of Righteousness may shine upon you!"

Next to the persecuting prelates, his censures are directed against negligent and ungodly ministers; and it must be admitted, by all conversant with the state of many parishes at that period, these rebukes were too well justified. Even the lords of the Council complain to Whitgift that "great numbers of zealous ministers were suspended from their cures, and there was no preaching, prayers, or sacraments, in vacant places.

In some places, they state that "the persons appointed to succeed them, had neither good learning nor good name, but were drunkards and of filthy life." The terms in which Penry denounces the conduct of such ignorant and immoral men are severe but not unwarranted. A modern preacher, as remarkable for moral sensibility as for taste and refinement, has said of the unfaithful minister, that, in comparison with his perfidy, every other shape of treachery would seem the height of virtue. His would seem the criminality, not of men, but demons. His doom may be regarded as inclusive of all the varieties of final condemnation and torture: Whatever be the penalty incurred by the most dark hypocrisy—the basest ingratitude—the most wilful deception—all may be appre-

hended here.\* In the same spirit, though in other diction, Penry says to the "dumb ministers—"I know you, for the most, part to be silly men—poor souls that make a means to live in the world. What should I say unto you, who may say of yourselves, as did the foolish prophets, Zech. 13, 5. Though we wear a surplice and black garments to deceive, yet are we but plain husbandmen. Surely the people may ask counsel as well of their thresholds, or desire their staffs to teach them knowledge, as come unto you for any instruction. You are no ministers, as I have proved—and again will prove. You do most villainously profane the sacraments, and call for the wrath and vengeance of God to be poured upon you. Give over your places, or surely I do not see how it is possible you should be saved. Better were it to live poorly here for a time, than to be undone for ever. "It is reason," the considerate reformer adds, "that your outward estates should be considered. The Lord will provide for you, your wives and children, if, of conscience, you leave the ministry; and the magistrate is bound not to see you want. You live (now) upon stealth, sacrilege, and the spoil of souls." In mercy to themselves, as well as in compassion to the people, Penry laboured for their removal from a work for which they had no moral fitness. "It is certain, that, by a ministry without a vocation, exactly so much evil is done to himself by the man who presumes to exercise it, as good is done to himself by the man who exercises a ministry to which he has been truly called ;

that whatsoever impresses and edifies the true pastor, proportionately hardens the false one ; that every word of truth which he utters, closes his mind yet more to the feeling of truth, and that he perishes by means of that which quickens others."\* " Woe to the idol shepherd that leaveth his flock ! his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened."† But the insensible and corrupt minister is least concerned for the injury he inflicts, and the last to see his own guilt and danger. Armed with parochial authority, the profligate clergyman, in the times now under review, could make havoc of souls not only with impunity, but with encouragement and sanction so long as he stood by his order.

Penry felt this, and turning from the " idol pastors " to the people, he continues—" Let no man do me the injury to report that I deny any members of Christ to be in Wales, I protest I have no such meaning, and would die upon the persuasion that the Lord hath His chosen in my dear country, and I trust the number of them will be daily increased." But having made this concession, he warns them not to mistake the " hireling " for the real shepherd. " The outward calling of these dumb ministers," he tells them, " by all the presbyteries in the world, is but a seal pressed upon water, which will receive no impression." " Labour, then, to have true pastors over you, and rest not until you have brought this to pass.

In the meantime, carry your children a thousand miles to a true minister of God to be baptized, rather

\* Vinet.    † Zech. xi. 17.



than offer them unto your hirelings. The word preached, you see, you must have. Live according to it, you must. Serve the Lord, as He will, in every point, you must—or so be for ever in your confusion. Difficulties in this case must not be alleged; for if you seek the Lord with a sure purpose to serve him, He hath made a promise to be fond of you. Away, then, with these speeches. How can we be provided with preaching? Our livings are impropriated—possessed by non-residents. Is there no way to remove these dumb ministers, but by supplication to Her Majesty, and to plant better in their stead? Indeed you will seek none—be it, you cannot remove them. Can you bestow no more to be instructed in the way of life than that which law hath already alienated from your possessions? You never made account of your tithes, as of your own. For shame!—bestow something *that is your's*, to have salvation made known unto you. Contemn not the grace of God offered to you in these days of your peace.”

This is the first glimpse we find in Penry's writings of the spontaneous method of supporting the Gospel. A church to be pure, must be free; and to be free, it must be voluntary. It is a congregation of faithful men. All faithful men are of one accord. They are not compelled by law, but are constrained by love.

Love, with them, is the fulfilling of the law. There is no Christian obedience of which it is not the spring.

This was Penry's final appeal, and he left it to his countrymen as a parting legacy. “The inhabitants of

the city of Thasus being besieged by the Athenians," he says, "made a law, that whosoever would motion a peace to be concluded with the enemy should die the death. Their city began to be distressed, and the people to perish with the sword and famine. Hegetorides, a citizen, pitying the estate of his country, took a halter about his neck, came into the judgment place, and spake :—' My masters, deal with me as you will—but in any case, make peace with the Athenians; that my country may be saved by my death.' My case is like this man's. I know not my danger in these things. I see you, my dear and native country, perish—it pitieth me. I come with the rope about my neck to save you. Howsoever it goeth with me, I labour that you may have the Gospel preached among you. Though it cost my life, I think it well bestowed.

"Be it as it will, my comfort is the testimony of my conscience, that in simplicity and singleness of heart—not only as in the heart of God's children (unto whose view and censure this poor labour is offered) and his angels, but as in the presence of Jesus Christ—I have behaved myself in this cause; having before mine eyes, that I am one day to yield an account unto His Majesty, both of my good meaning, and also of all circumstances—oversight, vain and idle words in this action. But, alas! what can proceed from me that tasteth not of old Adam, and the body of sin which I carry about with me. Whensoever I have offended, either in manner or matter, let it be shewed, and I will, with mine own hands, destroy that which I build amiss—be sorry for mine oversight—the most eager

censurer of myself—and thank him, from my heart, who shall admonish me of my fault.

“To end—commending you all, both honourable worshipful ministers and people, unto the Lord and the word of His grace, I take my leave of you in that exhortation of Job :\* ‘ Acquaint yourselves, I pray you, with the Almighty, and make your peace with Him, whereby it shall go well with you. Receive, I pray you, the law of His mouth, and lay up His word in your hearts. If you return unto Him, you shall be built up. If you put iniquity far from your tabernacle, the Almighty shall be your defence. You shall make your prayer unto Him, and He shall hear you.’ Christ Jesus give them a heart to return unto Thee, and be Thou found of them for Thy mercies’ sake. Amen, Amen, Amen. Yea, come quickly, Lord Jesus.

“Your poor countryman, who, in all dutiful good will, hath wholly dedicated himself to do you good in the Lord,

“JOHN PENRY.”

It is worthy of remark, that with a certain nobleness, almost peculiar in this crisis, Penry always subscribes his name. Transparent and honest, he was neither ashamed nor afraid to avow his sentiments.

This circumstance, apart from the fact of his incessant labour in preparing his avowed writings, and their uniform gravity and earnestness, affords strong presumption that he was not the author of the pamphlets differing totally in style and temper, so freely,

• Job **xlii.** 21—25.

and, as the sequel of the narrative will show, so unjustly attributed to him.

The various publications of Penry, were brought out in haste and with considerable difficulty. They are badly printed on poor paper; and the wonder is that any copies of them remain. He could not monopolise the press at Mouldsey, though he was chiefly responsible for its management. To his great inconvenience, and sometimes in direct opposition to his remonstrances, Waldegrave pushed the anonymous Mar-prelate tracts into circulation. The first of these notorious pamphlets was printed this year (1588) at Kingston, in the same neighbourhood. The demand for them was extensive, and they were read with great avidity; so much so, that the binder said, "he worked as if in prison, and that many persons, asked him what made him look so pale?"

As might have been anticipated, the attention of Whitgift was soon directed to these offensive writings, and an active search was made for the printer's hiding place.

Mrs. Crane told Penry, on receiving "a load of stuff" at Christmas, that she feared that it would lead to their being discovered. He advised that it should be sent back at once to Northampton. A journey with a well-laden cart from Surrey to Northampton, in those days, was attended with no small trouble and expense.

The countryman who had charge of the "stuff," curious, it would appear, to examine the "little pieces of iron with letters at the end," was careless in driving; and the roads not being in the best condition, he let

the wheel of the cart run into a deep rut, and was hindered for some time on the way, in imminent peril of detection. He reached home, however, safely. The type, contained in baskets, together with a "black stone" were bestowed in the nursery of Fawsley Manor,\* and from thence were removed to a room in a house in another part of the town, approached by a winding staircase. During these important movements, Penry might be seen walking through the park, disguised in a "long sky-coloured cloak of light-colour, and had the collar of the said cloak edged with gold and silver lace, and a light-coloured hat, with an arming sword by his side."

Humphery Newman, "a secret disposer of the books, came first, in a great coat and a green hat, and within a short time after he wore Sir Richard Knightley's livery."

The printers also went about in the same uniform. But this large retinue excited too much notice, and things were no better when the press was taken to an unoccupied farm house at Norton. Waldegrave was well known to the pursuivants, having a printing press of his own broken up but a few months before.† It was thought best, therefore, to make a contribution for him and send him away to Scotland, where he soon obtained employment as king's printer in Edinburgh.

\* Appendix B.

† Part of the type was recognised as his. "When his other letters were defaced, he saved a little Roman and Italian letter in a box under his cloak, and brought them to Mrs. Crane's house in London."—*Lansdowne MSS.*, 61, 62.

## III.

Some, while they live, are rank'd as mad,  
And are placed in the cold world's ban,  
For sending their bright, far-seeing souls  
Three centuries in the van.  
They toil in penury and grief  
Unknown—if not maligned;  
Forlorn, forlorn, bearing the scorn  
Of the meanest of mankind.  
But truth will conquer at the last,  
For round and round we run,  
And ever the right comes uppermost,  
And ever is justice done.

MACKAY.

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THE situation of Penry, in 1589, was trying in the extreme. "I am toss'd," he says, "from post to pillar, and permitted to have no assurance of quiet in any of her Majesty's territories and dominions." And yet he had a native fondness for tranquil seclusion. "I have other things to do," he writes, "than to be a contentious man—one with whom the whole world should be at debate. I have also a life whereof there is no cause, I thank God, I should be weary." Home had a growing attraction for him, but he had become almost a stranger in his own dwelling; and his children, at

an age of peculiar endearment, were startled at the sound of his voice. To add to his trial and perplexity, he was personally assailed in a treatise by Dr. Some, now Master of Peterhouse, and employed by Whitgift to write down the almost solitary advocate at this time of the cause of the Reformation.

Much as he was bent on the salvation of his countrymen, Penry was compelled to suspend his efforts in this direction; to vindicate his own character against the charge of sedition; and, if possible, to secure legal protection for his family against violent intrusion, and the outrages committed by the coarse and reckless agents of the High Commission.

A glance at the pamphlets, published between Dr. Some and Penry, will show their relative position.

"The magistrates," says the doctor, "thanks be to God, neither do nor will suffer this bad course of yours. If they should, fancies would, as weeds, grow too fast, and this noble land should receive more hurt than your head is worth. I doubt not of their godly wisdom. The miserable estate of Germany,\* heretofore, by reason of sectaries, may, and will, awaken them. If you be restrained from your gross errors—as some are very justly—you must not cry persecution! persecution! Your note must be *pæna perfidia*—that is, you are justly punished—otherwise, you sing out of tune."

The scorning of them that are at ease is difficult to bear. But Penry met it all at once with courage and meek submission. His reply is dignified, yet almost plaintive. After discussing the various questions

\* Appendix C.

involved, he says—"Thus much I thought needful to set down concerning your manner of dealing—not that I would any way disgrace you whom I reverence, for that is no part of my interest. The Lord is my witness. Nay, I would be loth to let that syllable escape me that might give you any the least occasion in the world to think that I carry any other heart towards you, than I ought to bear towards a reverent learned man—fearing God.

"Howsoever, unless you alter your judgment, I can never agree with you in these points, because I am assured you swerve from the truth. Yet, this discouragement shall be so far from making a breach of that love wherewith in the Lord Jesus I am tied unto you, that I doubt not but we shall be one in that day when all of us shall be at unity in Him that remaineth one and the self-same for ever. Pardon me, I pray you; I deal as reverently as I may with you, retaining the majesty of the cause I defend."

"Hath the cause you deal for, majesty in it?" rejoins Dr. Some. "You might have spared the name of Majesty very well. It is too costly a garment for such a leprous body as your treatise is. But I must bear with you. It is the manner of sectaries to use magisterial and lofty words—that their ignorant followers may commend them above the skies. The reverend dealing you talk of is idle speech. I have, and do refuse. Your cause is naught—your armour is not proof—your divinity is at a low ebb—your arguments are pitiful—your answers are silly. There is no hope of prevailing. The best conquest you can



have is to overcome your pride by humility and your ignorance by godly study."

At the close of the controversy, Penry says—"I have been driven to deal brieflier therein than I had determined. I have not the liberty that you M. Some do enjoy. Procure me but the favour to be judicially heard according to the word, and I will personally, upon the peril of my life and the Lord's assistance, defend these points against all gainsayers. I am sorry that you whom I reverence should be the instrument to oppugn a truth. The Lord respect the cause of his own glory and pardon our sin. Amen."

With characteristic arrogance, Dr. Some replies—"You have not, you say, such liberty of preaching as I. No reason you should. You would have me procure you judicial hearing. Your request is not equal. *Nec te novi, nec ubi sis.* Speak for yourself, in God's name. So will I—if you will revoke your errors and heresies; otherwise I will not open my lips for you, or any such as you are. After leave obtained, you will appeal (you say), though it cost you your life, and deal in arguments, &c. O noble Goliath! Do you challenge all gainsayers? Alas! good Mr. Penry. You are utterly unfit for such a match. This heat of your's is like a blaze of thorns, it will last but a while."

Rather the Star of Cambria—serene and beautiful—will shine for ever. The smoke from the fire of thorns has too long concealed it from view, but though obscured it has not become extinct.

Fruitless as all former applications to Parliament had been, Penry had no alternative but again to appeal to

the House for the maintenance of his rights as a citizen. He wrote and published an "Appellation,"\* in which he says—"The care of procuring mine own safety (by all lawful means) from the dangerous attempts of those that seek nothing else but mine overthrow and undoing—nature itself, and especially God's ordinance—hath laid upon my shoulders the burden whereof I cannot neglect, unless I would shew myself on the one side more unnatural than the brute beasts, which will never be guilty of their own damage, for the most part, if they see any way to avoid the same; and, on the other side, to correct God's providence in refusing to try all the lawful means which He hath ordained and appointed for the deliverance of His children out of the hands of their malicious enemies."

Under this sense of natural obligation, Penry recites to Parliament the circumstances connected with his efforts for ecclesiastical reform, and the persecution which, in consequence, he had endured.

He does not conceal from the House that he had sought, by moral force, and with no other, to extirpate the "wicked hierarchy with whatsoever corruption dependeth thereon." This reformation he justifies himself in advocating from Scripture—the example of previous Reformers, and the guarantees offered for the rights and immunities of the people on the accession of her Majesty to the throne. The principles for which

\* "The appellation of John Penri, unto the High Court of Parliament, from the vile and injurious dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, his colleagues in the High Commission, wherein the complainant, submitting himself and his cause unto the determination of this honourable assembly, craveth nothing else, but either release from trouble and persecution, or just trial." Anno Dom. 1589. Ps. 35-26. Jer. 20, 1-6.

he contends, he affirms, are all contained in the Book of Common Prayer, only lost amidst anomalies and contradictions suffered to remain in it until the change introduced by Protestantism should have full and consistent operation.

Penry informs the High Court of Parliament, that he had been pursued without ceasing by the emissaries of the bishops, who had acted throughout in the spirit of the Spanish Inquisition.

“On the 29th of January,” to quote his own words, “one Richard Walton, having a commission from the archbishop and others, wherein all her Majesty’s officers were charged and commanded in her name to assist the said Walton to make entry into all houses, shops, &c., to apprehend all those whom he should any ways suspect, and to commit them at his discretion unto the next gaol or prison, until further order should be taken with them, came unto the place of mine abode at Northampton, ransacking my study, and took away with them all such printed books and printed papers as he himself thought good. What they were, as yet I cannot tell ; and not contented to keep himself within the moderate limits of a larger commission, than, as I think, can be warranted by law, he offered violence unto divers persons, and threatened not only to break open doors, having no such commission, but also to untile houses, unless he could find me where indeed I was not. At his departure, he charged the mayor of the town, who then attended upon him, to apprehend me as a traitor, giving out that he had found in my study printed books, and also writings, which contained

treason in them. Whereas, the books and writings of 'greatest disgrace (even in sight of his master), which he could there find, were one printed copy of the 'Demonstration of the Discipline,' and an answer unto Master D. Some, in writing; both which he carried away with him."

This Walton, who kept the Mayor of Northampton in attendance, was a discarded beadle of one of the city companies. His worship was compelled to assist also in search of Sharpe, the binder. The High Commission summoned him to appear before them, and to "surcease the execution of his office" unless the offender should be forthcoming.

In these wanton and arbitrary proceedings, Penry maintains that the Commissioners had exceeded the limits of legal authority, and that to suffer the continuance of such excesses would be to infringe on the liberties of Parliament itself.

The charge of sedition made against him, in common with earnest religious Reformers of every age, he declares to be utterly groundless. "I have been," he says, "all the days of my life, at my studies. I never, as yet, dealt in any cause, more or less, in anything that any way concerneth civil estate and government; and as for attempting anything against her Majesty's person, I know that Satan himself dares not be so shameless as to intend any accusation against me, in that point."

As for the work of Reformation itself, come what may, Penry avows his determination to persevere in it until he is convinced that he is in error. "Though," he adds, "I be a thousand degrees inferior to mine

adversaries, yet, by the mercies of the Lord, I have the upper hand of them in the goodness of the cause. The spilling of my blood for it, though it be a matter to be regarded of you that are in authority, yet, I thank the Lord, it is not the thing that I fear; but the discrediting of the truth by my hard usage is that I regard. The cause is the cause of God—it is the cause of the church, and so the cause of many thousands\* of the most trusty, most sure, most loving subjects that her Majesty hath; whose hearts, by the repelling of this my suit, must be utterly discouraged and thrown down. My only suit and petition is, that either I may have assurance of quietness and safety, or, that the causes of my trouble being laid open by mine adversaries, I may receive the punishment of mine offences. I crave no immunity—let me have justice—that is all I crave. This, in regard of your places, you are bound to afford me.”

While Penry was occupied in preparing this memorial to Parliament, the excitement produced by the publication of the Martin Mar-prelate pamphlets, reached its height. “It is strange,” says Fuller, “how secretly they were printed, how speedily dispersed—how greedily read, and how firmly believed—especially of the common sort, to whom no better music than to hear their betters upbraided.”

The style of these polemical missives cannot be

\* Fuller says, this party “founded by some clergymen favoured by many of the gentry, and followed by more of the common sort—who being prompted with that natural principle, that the weakest side must be watchful—what they wanted in strength, they supplied in activity. But what won them most repute was, their ministers’ painful preaching in populous places—it being observed in England, that those who hold the helm of the pulpit always steer the people’s hearts as they please.

recommended—but it is greatly superior to the anonymous tracts written on the other side. If it is vehement and vulgar, it is not like that of the writers in defence of prelacy and of the High Commissioners, coarse and indecent. The argument of Martin was never answered. Bishop Cooper laboured, at the request of the primate, to counteract his influence, but his “admonition”—weak, cumbersome, and inconsequential—would damage any cause it professed to serve, unless supported by material appliances.

He defends the practice of abdominal fasting from considerations of political economy. “Without fasting,” he tells us, after the manner of ‘Poor Richard,’ there would be no fishermen—and without fishermen, there would be no navy; and without the navy, England would be conquered, and all her treasure become the spoil of the enemy.”

Strong in patristics and in pagan philosophy, the bishop is by no means mighty in Scripture. The sentiment of Chrysostom he quotes with congenial approbation:—“Although they that be superiors and governors were evil and spotted with many faults, yet should not the disciples withdraw them from their instruction. For if Christ speaking of the doctors of the Jews, that because they sat in Moses’ chair they were worthy to be heard of their disciples, although their works were not commendable, what favour are they worthy of which condemn and trample under foot (as it were) the prelates of the church, which, by God’s goodness, live moderately? If it be a foul matter for one to judge another, how much more is it

unlawful to judge their masters and instructors?" "Balaam," adds Bishop Cooper, "was a covetous prophet, and yet by him God blessed His people."

The prelates were proud of their advocate, but the success of his treatise was not in proportion to its erudition.

The people who devoured the Puritan books had "not so learned Christ." They remembered what is written in the Scriptures concerning "false prophets;" and that, with respect to conscience, Christians are to "call no man master."

Notwithstanding all outward means of repression, popular opinion came into being and gathered strength even from opposition. That mysterious, indefinite, but mighty influence—public opinion—ripening into public conviction, which, in England, constitutes it the true balance of power—so patient in reverse, so sure of victory, and so generous in the hour of triumph—owes its existence to the freedom of the press. Every one, therefore, who can estimate the value of an equable moral force at once, by its noble results, and in contrast with the condition of society where it has no existence, must look back with peculiar interest to the struggles made by Penry and his companions to secure the working of the press amidst obstacles that would have appalled any in whom the love of truth and the love of country were not, as in them, blended with the love of God and faith in His immutable promise. It is little to the purpose to object that some of the works issued from the secret press were objectionable—if not in principle—yet in temper and in style. Unhappily,

in our own time, controversy has not entirely lost its bitterness. Nor is the press of the nineteenth century quite immaculate. Yet, with all its faults, it is an agency for good, the value of which is beyond calculation; and as in obscurity and in weakness it secured its own emancipation, so, in the day of its highest success, it will become the instrument of its own purification.

Whitgift was ill at ease, and became more importunate in his application for fresh powers to check the influence of the indomitable Puritans. Almost querulous in his complaints, in a beseeching tone he appealed to the pity of the government in behalf of the prelates greatly injured in his own estimation. When smarting on a former occasion under the rebukes of Lord Burleigh, for his "wilfulness" and inquisitorial harshness, he said—"It is more than strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good warranty as I do, should be so badly used; and for not yielding, be called wilful. But *vincit qui patitur*. He that suffers, overcomes; and if my friends herein forsake me, I trust God will not, nor her Majesty, who have laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me—upon whom I will depend." The conscience of a persecutor is a great anomaly. If Whitgift ever wept, it was when disappointed of his prey; and if ever he dispensed with the liturgy in private worship, it must have been in seeking Divine assistance, to destroy those who were resolved to make the Word of God their final standard of truth and duty. Be this as it may, he was not long before he received further aid from her Majesty, to crush the



Puritans, whom he classed with "Atheists, Papists, and Anabaptists."

On the 13th February, 1589, a proclamation was issued for the bringing in all seditious and schismatical books, whether printed or written, to the ordinary, or to one of the Privy Council. These obnoxious publications are described "as tending to bring in a monstrous and dangerous innovation, of all manner of ecclesiastical government now in use; and with a rash and malicious purpose, to dissolve the state of the prelacy, being one of the three ancient estates of this realm under her Highness—whereof her Majesty mindeth to have a reverend regard. She therefore prohibits any of her subjects from keeping any books in their custody against the order of the church, or the rites and ceremonies of it; her Majesty being minded to have the laws severely executed against the authors and abettors of them, as soon as they shall be apprehended."

The hand of Whitgift forged this bolt, and it was evidently armed against Penry and his associates. The search for schismatical books, and for their authors and abettors at Northampton, was "very hot." Sir Richard Knightley sent away his man and advised Sharpe, the bookbinder, if he valued his life, to keep in close concealment. The whole party had a narrow escape. On the 20th of February, 1589, a week after the proclamation, Penry rode over to Coventry, to advise with Mr. Pigot, whom he met at a sermon; and secured temporary accommodation for the printing apparatus, at the house of Mr. Hales, the nephew of

Sir Richard Knightley, in that town. Hodgkins was engaged in the place of Waldegrave, and in a fortnight after he went, "under the name of an embroiderer," with his two men, Tomlyn and Simms, to Sir Roger Wigston's, at Woolston, who, at the instance of his wife, allowed the press to be brought there, and worked in "a low parlour."

Here Penry seems to have relinquished the charge of the printing establishment, that he might attend to affairs at home. It was needful to provide a shelter for his wife and infant children, no longer allowed them in their native town. One outlet of escape alone remained. The ministers of Scotland, who visited the students at Oxford, were deeply interested in the course of the Puritan Reformer; and were ready to extend to him the protection and succour he required in this distressing emergency. He turned, therefore, with hope to the Cheviot hills; and, by a cautiously selected route, made his way, with his interesting family, to the north. James the VI. was absent from his kingdom, in Norway; and, as a further inducement for the removal, Waldegrave, the printer, was established at Edinburgh, and there he might publish his writings with less restraint.

Job Throgmorton,\* with characteristic kindness and generosity, provided for the expenses of the journey; as on former occasions he had raised contributions amongst friends in London, when staying at his cousin Middlemore's, at Enfield, to meet pecuniary difficulties occasioned by the unsettled state of the Reformer, and the wants of his family at Northampton.

\* Sutcliffe's Answer--p. 73.

## IV.

We know the arduous strife, th' Eternal laws  
To which the triumph of all good is given ;  
High sacrifice and labour without pause,  
Even to the death ; else wherefore should the eye  
Of man converse with immortality.

WORDSWORTH.

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THE Puritans in England differed, in some points, from their Presbyterian brethren beyond the Tweed—as Calvin and Knox, though united in friendship and agreed in the main articles of Christian doctrine, varied in general policy. Knox was eager to identify himself with the interests of a political party. Calvin kept as far as possible aloof from such associations. Cartwright, one of the principal leaders of the English Puritans, pursued a kind of medium course. He, like Knox, sought political alliances, but, with Calvin, he earnestly deprecated the use of the sword in the cause of truth.

The pacific spirit of his party is clearly exemplified

in the correspondence of Job Throgmorton with Coppinger and Hacket. When these fanatics tried to involve him in a plot for the liberation of Udall, the cautious Puritan answered them in the following words —“ Your godly conference, at any time when opportunity shall serve, I will not refuse. And albeit our business may hinder us now to meet, yet there is no time overpast, but that it may be performed when it please God. The next term (you hear) I must appear here again upon my bond; at which time you shall find, that I will be glad of your Christian conference, or any other brother's by whom I may be enlightened. Lord deliver me from that pride of heart to reject or refuse that while I live. That course you speak of, intended by you, I was never (you know) in particular acquainted with. And therefore for me to hate or dislike a matter that I had no knowledge of, had been (I take it) without ground or warrant. Only, I confess, I heard some buzzes abroad, of a sole and singular course, that either you, or some other, had plotted in his head, which was greatly feared and condemned of the brethren. What that was, I know not; so had I small reason to speak of it with prejudice. Only I would wish you, and all that bear good will to the holy cause, in this perilous age of ours, to take both your eyes in your hands (as they say) and to be sure of your ground and warrant before you strive to put it in execution. For as I like not of coldness of zeal, under colour of discretion—so, on the other side, I think that this sentence of our Saviour (‘be ye wise as serpents’) was not written in vain neither, and had great

need to be practised of some in this age. A sanctified cause (you know) would always have a sanctified course. Our rule and square must be the word of truth; which, so long as we lay before us as our level, we shall not lightly swerve much from the mark.

The Lord, therefore, direct us, in these fearful and miserable days, and let not our infirmities be a bar to his mercies.”\*

The relation of Penry’s party to the Kirk of Scotland, however, will be best understood by the answer to Bancroft, who assailed both, indiscriminately, in a sermon preached at the opening of Parliament, February 8, 1588.

“Touching Scotland,” they say, “we answer, that we desire not the eldership to be planted in the Church of England, because Scotland or Geneva enjoy the same, but inasmuch as Christ Jesus, the Head and King of His church, hath commanded it to be therein. We admit the government of no church under heaven to be the pattern of that which we desire, but only that regiment which is set down in the word of God; the perfection whereof, in any church which it hath attained unto, we rejoyce with them, and desire to be partakers of so great a blessing in the Lord’s good time. But as for anything that is amiss (if there be ought either in Geneva or Scotland), we labour no more to have that established in England, than we do to have the great abuses that reigned in the church of Corinth or Galatia to be imitated.

“For ecclesiastical matters, it is the word of God

\* “Bancroft’s Dangerous Positions,”—p. 155.

only that therein hath power to determine what is acceptable in the sight of God.

“Browne, a known schismatic, is a man very fit to be one of your witnesses against the eldership. His entertainment in Scotland was such as a proud ungodly man deserved to have. God give him and you repentance.

“We depend not upon men. Christ Jesus is our only guide. As concerning M. Cartwright—whom you (to keep your tongue in use with your natural vein) call our ringleader, we bless God, that even He hath vouchsafed such an instrument to stand in the defence of His holy government. But we follow him no further than he attendeth on the truth of his God.”\*

Although James VI., in his royal pleasure, “thought good” to associate the names of “Browne and Penry” they were not identified at this time in principle, and never acted together.

Robert Browne came to Edinburgh with a few of his friends, on the 9th January, 1584, and stayed for a time at the head of the Canongate. The followers of John Knox were greatly scandalized by the views broached by the “Brownist company,” especially at the opinion held by them of “separation from all kirks where excommunication was not used.”

Penry had not yet advanced to this point, and his reception by the brethren in the north was the more cordial, being commended to them as one who had been the means to reclaim some that, for want of a preaching ministry, were even at the brink to decline to Brownism.

\* “Bancroft’s Rashness in Rayling against the Church,” 12mo.—1590.

"I taught publicly," he says, "in the Church of Scotland, being thereunto earnestly desired and called by the order of that church." In continuance of literary occupation, which, notwithstanding his frequent changes and severe trials, had become habitual, he translated a work called "Thesis\* Genevensium."

Could he have forgotten his "dear native land," or had he proved unfaithful to his convictions of duty, he might now, perhaps, have enjoyed a life of learned leisure, and a moderate competency, with a peaceful home. The temptation was strong—but was not suffered to prevail. On "Arthur's Seat," when wandering through the Highland glen, or sailing on the tranquil lake, his heart was still in Wales, and the desire every day became stronger, that within its borders the gospel of salvation might have free course, run, and be glorified. With Paul, he had to say—"For my brethren—my kinsmen according to the flesh—I have great heaviness, and continual sorrow of heart."

Meanwhile, the emissaries of the High Commission were not inactive. Whitgift found in Bancroft a most assiduous and efficient coadjutor.

By his incessant correspondence, together with the zeal of his agents, the secret press, removed from Woolston,† first to Warrington and then to Manchester, was discovered in Newton-lane, by Henry, Earl of Derby. The poor printers were captured and sent in

\* "Propositions and Principles disputed in the University of Geneva." At Edinburgh, 1591.

† Lady Wigston earnestly requested the printers to stay longer, but they feared to remain. She gave them at parting half-a-crown each. The carrier says, there were delivered to him at Warrington, "a printing press, two boxes of letters, a basket, and a brass pot."—*Lansdowne MSS.*, 61.

custody of his officers to the Lords of the Council. The news of the arrest soon also reached the archbishop, while at Canterbury; and he wrote off at once to the lord treasurer, urging him to bring them to punishment. His letter is not the most legible in the original, but as it discloses the heart of his grace, the reader will accept it with interest:—

“ My very good Lord.—I do understand that the printers of certain bookes of Martin Marp. are sent up to you, being found printing northward by the Earl of Darbie. I assure myself that they shall be dealt with according to their deserts. The letters, wherewith they were now taken printing, are the same whereby Martin junior, and Martin senior, as they term themselves, were printed; and therefore, I doubt not but that the author of those antichristian libels may be by them detected. I know how greatly your lordship doth detest such actions, being against all Christianity, and not tolerated among the heathen. If we were such men as they would make us, we were not worthy to live, much less enjoy our places; and yet not to be used in that manner and sort. For my own part, in respect of myself, (the greatest mote in their eye) I make little account of their malice—neither did I ever break sleep for the care thereof. Yet, in respect of my calling and profession—and of the scandal that they may, by such lewd libels, be ministered to men apt to believe anything—I could wish them to be dealt with according to their deserts and the quality of their offence. I wish also that it might be done rather by their lordships of the council, than by ourselves



(the bishops in the ecclesiastical commission), that the world might know that they were men not cast off on all sides as objects of the world, but that justice should as well take place in their causes as in all other men's. The rather, because they sustain these injuries by Martinists for doing their duties in suppressing sects and wicked opinions, and in maintaining the state and government by law established, which is wounded through their sides. And with my hearty prayers to God for your L, I commit you to his tuition, the 24 August, 1589.

“Your L most assured,

JO. CANTUAR.”

Penry was apprized of the event by his faithful friend Job Throgmorton\*; almost every individual connected with the clandestine publications, from Sir Richard Knightley to the man who drove the cart, was seized, and compelled, on oath, to disclose all particulars. Sanguine expectations were entertained, that in some way Penry would be implicated in the authorship of the tracts. Books, papers, and letters, fell into the hands of Bancroft; and his spy, at Edinburgh, watched the movements of the Presbyterian party, and often intercepted the communications made to the south. The deposition of witnesses, intimidated and anxious to secure their own lives, are still extant. All, that judicial subserviency or prelatical resentment could suggest, was done to elicit a particle of evidence turning on Penry's plans and operations.

\* Appendix D.

Beyond vague surmise and idle conjecture, nothing material was adduced.\*

Foiled in the more immediate design of their inquisitorial proceedings, the High Commission did not, on that account, abandon their object. Whitgift turned to his unfailing source of help—the Court. The sceptre was at his service, irrespective of every legal or political consideration that might seem to interfere. At his instigation, the queen sent an autograph letter to James, by Sir John Carmichael, dated 6th July, 1590. In deference to a royal communication, we give it *litteratim* :—

“ Greater promises, more affection and grauntz for more acknowledgings of received good turnes, my dear brother, none can bettar remember than the gentilman by your charge hathe made me understand; whereby I thinke al my endeuors wel recompensed that see them so wel acknowledged; and do trust that my counsels—if the so much content you—wil serve for memorials to turne your actions to serve the turne of your safe government, and make the lookars on honor your worthe and reverence such a rular. And lest fayre semblance—that easily may begile—do not brede your ignorance of such persons as ether pretend religion and dissemble devotion, let me warne you that there is risen, bothe in your realme and myne, a secte of perilous consequence, such as wold have no kings but

\* Appendix E.

“ We must not overlook this—that *no evidence* was found, and also that Penry himself, at the time (which I cannot give much weight to), and always after, even when about to die—when one is rather inclined to believe that he would speak the truth—denied that he had been concerned in the writing of these tracts.”—*Maskell's History of the Martin Mar-prelate Controversy*. pp. 197—9.

a Presbitrye, and take our place while the enjoy our privileges, with a shade of God's word, wiche now is judged to folow right without by their censure the be so demed. Yea, looke we wel unto them. When the have made in our people's hartz a doubt of our religion, and that we erre if the say so, what perilous issue this may make, I rather thinke than mynde to write. *Sapienti pauca*. I pray you stop the mouthes, or make shorter the tounge, of such ministers as dare to make oraison in their pulpits for the persecuted in England for the Gospel.\* Suppose you, my deare brother, that I can tollerat such scandals of my sincere government? No. I hope, howsoever, you be pleased to bear with ther audacitie towards your selfe, yet you will not suffer a strange king receaue that indignities at such caterpillar's hand; that instede of fruite, I am afraid wil stuf your realme with venom. Of this I have particularized more to this bearer—together with other answers to his charge, besiching you to hear them, and not to give more harbor rome to vacabond traitors and seditious inventors, but to returne them to me, or banishe them your land. And thus, with many thanks for your honorable intertainments of my late ambassador, I commit you to God, who ever preserve you from all iuel counsel and send you grace to folow the best.

“Your most assured louing sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH R.

“To my deare brother, the King of Scotland.”†

\* Appendix F. + Camden Society's Publications, xlv.

In pursuance of the same object, the Privy Council issued a warrant, signed by Whitgift and five others, to the effect, *that*—"one John Penry is an enemy to the state, and if not taken for such heretofore, they should now take knowledge and information thereof from them, and so henceforth account him—they shall herein do her Majesty good service."

King James, in obedience to the counsels of his "louing sister and cousin," issued a decree of banishment against Penry. The ministers of Scotland, however, in this instance, were not so pliant as others, "for everywhere they stayed the proclaiming thereof."\*

A little longer, therefore, Penry was sheltered from the rage of his adversaries; and he employed the interval in preparing the last of his publications printed in his lifetime. It is called "A Treatise wherein is manifestly proved that Reformation and those that are sincerely for the same are unjustly charged with being enemies unto her Majesty and the state—written both for the clearing of those that stand in that cause, and the stopping of the slanderous mouths of all the enemies thereof." Zeph. iii. 18, 20—1590.

This was not the first time Penry had vindicated the cause of truth from the charge of sedition.—"Cannot this state stand," he asks on a former occasion, "if God should be duly honoured, and that people are trained in the ways of godliness? Must her Majesty be undutifully gainsaid when the honour of her God and the blessedness of her people are pleaded for?"

"How cometh it to pass, that you allow us not to

\* Baker's MSS., Vol. xvi.

subscribe unto that truth which the Lord doth maintain?

“Is it because our assertions are dangerous unto the state? That cannot be, unless you account the Lord an enemy thereto; for we affirm nothing but that which he hath given us commission to utter. Or is it, because we behave ourselves seditiously in our message?—that cannot be proved. For the men who are most severely punished for favouring this cause, have conducted, and do still carry themselves, as peaceably and dutifully towards her Majesty and the state as any of their quality within the whole kingdom whatsoever.” Penry, at the same time, again declares his sentiments without reserve—“By reformation” he says, “we mean nothing else, but the removing of all those unlawful callings which are maintained in our church and ministry contrary unto the revealed will and written word of the Lord our Lord, and the restoring thereunto of all such offices and ministries as the same God, under the pain of His heavy displeasure, requireth to be planted in His church, when, or wheresoever, He raiseth men fit for those functions.”

“They, that condemn the disciples of sedition for practising that which their master enjoined them, must needs pass sentence against the master as a teacher of seditious doctrines.” The threefold corruption of the hierarchy he shows—“first in usurping the government of the civil magistrate; secondly, in claiming unto themselves those high names and titles which belong unto worldly honours and promotion; and lastly, in the lordly pre-eminence and superiority

which they usurp over the whole body of the church."

It is a fixed idea, in the writings of the separatists, that the Anglican establishment can never fulfil the object of its institution as a Protestant church. This conviction was shared by some of the prelates themselves. Bishop Horne, in a letter to Gualter, at Zurich, says—"The church is sound in other respects, except that she is struggling with that *old disease* under which she has laboured even from her infancy: for she will not entirely recover from Popery before the last coming of that great physician Jesus Christ."\* No amount of external force can secure the adoption of religious sentiment or its perpetuity. The employment of it is altogether absurd, and incongruous. Its natural effect is, rather to supersede the conviction and to repress the spontaneous ardour—without which truth finds no entrance, and no appropriate medium for its transmission. The zeal, to be awakened by state control, will be on the side rather of priestly authority than for Christian principles, and the peace, superinduced by it, is not so much that arising from the assurance of understanding, as it is the apathy of indolent acquiescence in an inconsistent compromise or passive submission to an order of things the change of which it is hopeless to expect.

Restlessness in the prison-house may exist—but freedom, mental or moral, in a church subject to secular domination, is beyond the range of possibility. The murmurs of the hereditary bondsmen are loud and

\* Zurich Letters—p. 320.

frequent in our own time ; and it is curious to observe that they relate precisely to the same grounds of complaint that existed more than two centuries and a half ago.

“ The stream of conversions to Popery,” says a powerful writer, “ flows on, fed by waters which flow from the Church of England. The garrison appointed to guard the city, though they do not dare to open the gates, undermine the walls so as to let in the enemy. And great, indeed, is the calamity of subjection to Romish bondage. Our fathers found it insufferable ; and we ourselves have had a foretaste of its misery already. Who, that has experienced the misfortune of seeing his sons or daughters becoming Papists, has not felt that he has lost them altogether—that they are his no longer—that they become the property of the confessional—of the priest of the Roman church ; and how, in most cases, have they been lost ?—by a cruel abuse practised upon their piety. They listened reverently to the pastor to whose care their church had confided them ; and from him they imbibed doctrines which they were told were the strength and foundation of that church, but which, on reflection, were seen to command the transfer of their allegiance to Rome.

“ This, then, is the *grievous malady under which we now suffer*. Anglo-Catholicism cannot refute the reasoning of its departed chiefs ; yet, undeterred, it perseveres in the same teaching with the same activity, we may say with the same audacity, as ever. It occupies our parishes, our pulpits, our universities, and our sees ; and, from this vantage ground, does the work of Rome

more effectually than Rome could do it for herself. Rome would have to make her advances as an open adversary against men who are on their guard. Anglo-Catholicism seizes on confiding hearts, who are thinking only of the Church of England, whilst they are being inoculated with the doctrines of the Church of Rome. They do not fly to Rome to gain a religious truth; nor do those tenets of that church, which seem most revolting to common sense, cause their steps to falter as they cross the frontier between the two churches. No dissenter accordingly has gone over.”\*

We return to Penry. In the preface to his treatise, he writes—“Thou art to understand, beloved in the Lord, that within these few months a warrant, under six councillors’ hands, hath been given out from their honours and sent by public messengers unto all such places of the land as there was any likelihood of mine abode.” Menacing as the attitude and tone of his adversaries became, the noble confessor did not quail. “Although,” he says, “the cause be stood unto by weak and sinful men—if respect be had to that which we are in ourselves—I yet let man know, that, in the strength of our God, we are so far from being dismayed with the wisdom, countenance, or power of whatsoever is made of flesh, that, for mine own part, I cannot sufficiently wonder that any creature dares be so bold as to proclaim war against us for this cause; therefore, whatsoever enemies the Lord’s cause hath raised up against me (a contemptible worm) for the maintenance of His truth—be they noble or un-noble—counsellors

\* *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1861.



or inferior men—I am so far from fearing their power, that the more I see them rage, the greater strength I see reached unto me by the Lord's free mercies, to stand to that truth which they rave against; and by how much the greater hope do I conceive that the cause wherein I stand shall get the upper hand of them, whether they will or not. I believe, and therefore I am forced to speak of these things; in the uttering whereof, as I thank my God, I have a feeling of my own great wants and imperfections; so I am not without some comfortable assurance of His hand with me in His cause, to seal whatsoever truth I shall utter herein according to his word.

“If men will wonder, that we, being so contemptible in the sight of the world, dare yet be so bold as to control great states and mighty men, and to challenge them of injustice against the Son of God and His members—who will not stick to brag with Pilate, that they have power to crucify Christ, and to absolve Him—that they are to understand that we know of no power that is able to bear out injustice and wrong. The hills of the robbers we grant to be high and unassailable in the sight of an eye of flesh; but we have learned of the holy man to account the habitation of the wicked to be accursed, even when he seemeth to be best rooted; for we know that the steps of his strength shall be restrained, and that his own counsel shall cast him down. And as for ourselves, we confess that we are but base worms; and we would to God that we were lower in our own eyes—such as live not according unto outward appearance, because our life is hid with Christ in God.

But yet, lest men should take occasion to persecute us—because they know not with whom they deal—because they are ignorant whence we are, or whither we intend—seeing, by our walking, they may truly judge us to be descended of some other race than themselves are, and to look for another dwelling place than any we can enjoy here—they are to understand, then, that we are born not of mortal but of immortal seed—by the lively word of God; and that we are so far from hunting after the wages of unrighteousness with them, that we freely confess ourselves to be but PILGRIMS and strangers upon earth; and therefore travel towards that heavenly city which our God hath prepared for us. To be brief: we are the lawful successors of those men, who, through faith, hath quenched the violence of fire—escaped the edge of the sword—waxed valiant in the fight—of weak were made strong—who were tried by mockings and scornings—yea, moreover, by bonds and imprisonments—who were stoned—hewn asunder—slain with the sword—wandered up and down in sheep skins—being destitute, afflicted, and tormented—and yet, in all these distresses, were more than conquerors through the power of God.

“We hope to be assisted, whensoever it shall please the Lord to give our enemies leave to try our patience; for we are those unto whom the Lord hath made this promise: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee, so that we may boldly say, the Lord is mine helper, neither will I fear what man can do unto me. If these our counsellors and great men will not provoke this God against their own souls, they are to be exhorted before

they deal any further against the procurers of reformation to betake them unto their second thoughts, and acknowledge their temerity in lifting up their hands against God, and those whom He accounteth of as the apple of His own eye.

“To come unto you beloved—for whose strengthening and comforting I have especially taken pains in this treatise—if God hath called any of you to suffer for this cause, think it an exceeding preferment, that he hath vouchsafed you to be partakers of the afflictions of the Gospel, and in any case be not dismayed at your troubles. The cause is proved to be such as for the which you may not only suffer with a good conscience, but such as in the defence whereof you may expect the assistance of God’s comforting Spirit; and such as wherein all Christians are bound to suffer when they are thereunto called. I have also showed it to be that cause which is compassed about with a cloud of witnesses, and made commendable and beautiful unto Christians with the holy martyrs of Christ. The same Spirit which assisted them unto the end, will not leave you in any of your temptations, so that, by your prayers, you seek unto the Lord for strength, and be careful to learn obedience by the things which you suffer; as we are taught by His example who by sufferings was made unto us the author of eternal salvation. Be therefore humbled under the hand of your God, and know that you stand neither by your own strength—not by the goodness of your cause wherein you suffer—but only by the assistance of His Spirit who requireth a great care in all his children to

please him in reverence and fear—for our God is a consuming fire.

“Concerning such of you as the Lord hath not tried with any affection for His cause, I beseech you be not ashamed of the chain of your brethren. Mourn with those that lament for the cause of God. When they are imprisoned, think yourselves to be in bonds; and I do especially, and above all things, beseech those that favour the Reformation to labour more and more in the reformation of themselves, and such as belong unto them. We know, that considering the season, it is now time to rest from sleep—for now is our salvation nearer than when we first believed.

“It might have been something tolerable, in times past, for a sincere professor to have an ignorant, an untaught, and unreformed family; but, in this clear light and in a profession of so great sincerity, to continue in these sins is altogether unbeseeming the Gospel.

“Show what reformation can do in a whole kingdom. Be the preachers thereof, in your own persons and families; and that will be the best argument, both to confute the adversary and to draw the indifferent to like the cause.”

Penry closes the book in these terms:—“The second part of this book remaineth behind, which shall be published as soon as the Lord will grant me opportunity. I have been enforced, for some causes, to end this more abruptly than I could have wished. If thou favourest the cause (reader), thou wilt bear with this fault; if thou art an adversary thereunto, thou wilt think too

much already spoken; and so my abrupt silence (compared with that which I have spoken) to be no fault at all."

During his sojourn in Scotland, Penry occupied himself, as we learn from the depositions extorted by the High Commission, in translating a book called "*Thesis Genevensium*." This, no doubt, refers to the work described as, "*Theses Theologicæ in Schola Genevensi, sub. D. D. Theodoro Beza, et Antonio Fayo, propositæ et disputatæ*." 4to. Genève, 1586. The translation is entitled, "*Propositions and Principles of Divinitie propounded and disputed in the Universitie, of Geneva, by certain professors of divinitie there, under M. Theod. Beze, and M. Anth: Faïus professors of divinitie. Wherein is contained a methodicall summarie or epitome of common places of divinitie. Translated out of Latine into English to the end that the causes of the dangers, and also of the troubles of those that are hardlie dealt with elsewhere, may appear in the English tongue*." Edin. 1591. 4to. A new edition of the work was published in 1595, a copy of which is before us. No personal incident is mentioned in the preface. The sentiments it contains are, nevertheless, worth transcribing; affording, as they do, a beautiful illustration of the possibility of combining stern fidelity to truth with the tenderest and most active sympathies. The charity of Penry did not require him to wear a mask; nor did his own trials and privations render him insensible to the afflictions of Christian brethren in foreign lands. It will be known to the reader acquainted with the history of the

Reformation in Switzerland, that the Protestants of Geneva, at this period, suffered extremely from a terrible and protracted siege. Queen Elizabeth, while denying to the Separatists in England, any relief or quarter, sent a bold and spirited address to the Swiss cantons :—

“ High and mighty lords,” writes her Majesty, “ and right worthy sirs,—As allies and neighbours, you cannot be ignorant of the aid and assistance that is required by the distressed condition of your confederate city of Geneva, oppressed, as it has now been, for many years, with an almost uninterrupted blockade by two powerful enemies, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, his son-in-law. And we have no doubt but that your mightinesses, in accordance with the good faith of the treaties mutually contracted between you, and for the honor of your nation, will have such regard to your common defence in this dispute as not to allow that city to be abandoned and exposed to the licentiousness of upstart pretenders, as far as may be in your power to prevent it. . . . It is meet that your mightinesses should consider, that in this beleaguering of the Genevese, the beleaguering of all and every of your own several states is the thing finally aimed at; and that in the fall of that city is involved the destruction of you all. . . . Although, in all human estimation, the city and territory of Geneva may be regarded as an object of not much value or importance, just as Corinth of old was by the Achæans; Chalcis, by the Eubœans; and Demetrias, by the Thessalians. Yet, as they were made the fetters

of all Greece, so it is to be feared that the Genevese, when subjugated by the Spanish Savoyard, shall prove, in like sort, the fetters of your whole confederation. Compare only the nature of the country—the spirit and daring of the enemy—his very power, unwieldy through its excess—with your own narrow resources; and judge whether it be credible, that he who envies the majesty of the French king—he who has for more than twenty years been fighting against the liberties of the Low Countries—he who has a design against the sovereignty of France, and is parched up with thirsting after the crown of England—is it to be believed, that he will ever rest as long as your own ancient rights, and laws, and liberty, remain unsubverted? Which, in proportion as it would be a more dreadful spectacle to yourselves, and a more painful one to us, we again and again advise, and entreat you to be forearmed, and on your guard, lest such an event should occur; so that, mutually congratulating yourselves on the preservation of your ancient dignity and independence, you may be a comfort to your friends, a protection to your neighbours, and an everlasting benefit to posterity. Ourselves, though a woman, has taken the lead in this contest, preferring, as we do, to our own ease, dignity, kingly possessions, to whatever, in short, we hold, or can hold, most dear, the liberty of the neighbouring nations, and the preserving in their integrity, the just rights and authority of others. We are placed and appointed of God for this very purpose, that as far as lieth in us, we should do violence to none, but avert it from all,

as being well aware, that he who, having the ability, useth it not for another's help, is as much to blame as though he were that other's destroyer.

"But you, of your prudence, know these things right well; and of your friendly inclination, goodwill, and pious zeal towards each other, are sufficiently ready to succour the oppressed, as to make due provision for your own safety. Wherefore, we forbear adding more, save only, that, for the sake of the piety which you exhibit towards God and man, we commend to you, and to your good faith, the battered remnant of your severely besieged countrymen; and may the God of salvation evermore bless and prosper you!

"Given at our court, at Greenwich, the 18th July, in the year of our Lord 1590, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

"ELIZABETH R."\*

The leonine sympathy evinced in this able document in part explains the admiration in which the Queen was held to the last, by the confessors and martyrs of the separation. It is difficult to realize the fact, that the two royal letters we have quoted were written in the same month. More sincere and disinterested was the benevolent interest felt by Penry in the "battered remnant" of Geneva, because springing from a deeper and purer source. There is a tone of pathos very characteristic of Penry in the following epistle:—

"To all those that wish well unto the Lord Jesus, and his *poor Church wandering here upon earth* : the

\* Zurich MSS.



Translator wisheth the powerful assistance of God's Spirit while they are here, and the speedy enjoying of their sure, though deferred hope.

"As the mercies and goodness of God (beloved in the Lord) towards His dear spouse and church, hath especially manifested itself in this last ruinous age of the world.

"So hath Satan, in these very times, brought his whole munition into the field, with full purpose and intent, one way or other, to bring either a ruinous fall, or a confused deformity, where the Lord intended to build his sure grounded and well ordered house; and, therefore, all those, who have given their names unto the profession of the Gospel, are to consider what it is they have taken in hand. For as it hath been true in all ages—so shall it be verified in these our days—that all shall not walk with the Lamb for evermore, who, for a time, seemed to be of his train. And, alas! we know that he earnestly entreateth over many to open unto Him, who yet shall not be partakers of the Supper of the Great King; for such is the deceitful wisdom of man's nature, and Satan's powerful delusion, that even professors themselves never want great and weighty reasons why they should deny God's oppressed truth here upon earth, that the Lord may deny them in that day, when He shall come—not to suffer in his members, but to judge as the most magnificent King—and shall come in that glorious majesty whereat heaven and earth will be astonished.

"Now, because His judgment shall be ('go you cursed') upon as many as shall be found not only the

defacers of His glory, but even the deniers of any point of His truth and word—as the Holy Ghost hath forewarned us—therefore, I thought it my duty unto His majesty and His church, to publish this book in the English tongue; that men and angels may bear testimony against the moderation and discreet wisdom of this age in defending the truth that the Lord hath made known unto it; and that, by many witnesses, what that truth, and what that word of His is, which He will have, at all times, and in this age especially, maintained by all men without exception, that mean to be partakers of His eternal favour, the which truth, as it is largely contained in God's most sacred and written Word of the Old and New Testament, so is it briefly set down in this book by the whole consent of the godly learned in the Church of Geneva, and especially by that famous learned man, universally revered in God's church, M. Theodore Beza; out of this book, also, shall appear for what cause the Church of God is at this day persecuted—wheresoever the same be hardly entreated; for this I may boldly affirm—that there is no church, or private man, at this hour, in any affliction for the maintenance of the truth, but the cause of his trouble is contained and defended in this treatise. So that, although all the persecuted saints of God, now pilgrims upon earth, be not included within the walls and narrow dominions of Geneva, yet doth this book manifestly prove, that, as that church is barbarously assailed by the Duke of Savoy within the bounds thereof, so is this doctrine, therein professed, hardly dealt with under their government (though

it may be they are ignorant of it), who would be loath to be found at the siege of Geneva, or anywise to favour such godless cruelty. And I would wish that this were made known unto them.

“ And hereby, also, it will be manifested that there is great cause why the estate of that now distressed church should be respected. For, surely, if there be any love in men towards Christ, labouring and fainting as it were in His poor members, under the burden of their great crosses and trials, they cannot shut up their compassion towards Him—craving their help in the person of that poor church. I beseech thee, therefore, good reader—in the mercies of God—not to shut up thy compassion towards the same; and be assured, that the Lord Jesus will, for that thy kindness, say unto thee—nay, say of them unto His Father, His angels, and church—I was poor, hungry, thirsty, naked, and sick, and besieged in Geneva; and, behold, this man enriched me, fed me, clothed me, visited me, and defended me as far as lay in him; wherefore, come thou, blessed of my Father, and possess thy never-ending reward. I know, beloved, that thou hast many hinderances to do this in this backsliding age; but know yet, that Matthew saith, that it is a King who requireth this at thy hands, and will be exceedingly angry with thee, to thy woe, if thou denieth His request, as He will reward thee most bountifully to thy comfort, if thou grant the same; and, in any case, take heed in this, as in all other points touching thy duty of the wisdom of this age, whose wariness tendeth to no other purpose, but warily to starve and forsake the

Gospel. The shame, poverty and discontent of the Gospel, I tell thee, is a glorious ignominy.

“All the crowns in the world are not worthy to stand in the balance with the same. Thou art also to know, that the Gospel is whatsoever is according unto wholesome doctrine, as the Apostle teacheth; and therefore, if thou wilt stand unto the same, thou must wholly cleave unto it; otherwise the fierce anger of the God of truth will be against thee for shrinking from any part of His testimonies; and thou must know, thou art not to choose what to defend; but thou art bound to maintain, according unto their calling, whatsoever thou seest to be oppugned by any—be they friends, or be they enemies of the truth. And those thou heedest not to regard herein, whatsoever opposeth itself against thee; for He whose truth thou maintainest is no respecter of persons, but is terrible, as the Prophet saith, even unto the kings of the earth; and thou shalt find, that in thy defence—defending His truth—He will break the great men in the day of His wrath, except they submit themselves unto the sceptre of His word.

“In conclusion—for necessity is laid upon me, that I cannot write what I purposed—say with the holy man, Ezra, unto thine own heart; and be assured thereof, that the hand of God is upon all those that seek Him in goodness; and, therefore, fear not but His power and His wrath is against all them that forsake Him. Briefly, that thou mayest profit by this book, I crave of thee to take pains in it—bestow an hour a day in the reading thereof, and in so doing, after the first time,

thou mayest well read it over once every month. The which course, if thou shalt take, I doubt not, but in one year, thou shalt so benefit thyself, as there shall be no point of weight in religion whereof thou shall not be able to resolve thy own conscience; and also to edify others, unto thy calling, in very good measure. But in any case take heed that thy knowledge gotten by reading rather increase than diminish thy care in the hearing of the word preached; and thus thou mayest expect the blessing of the Lord; unto whom I betake thee, myself, and all His, now and ever. Amen."

The career of Penry, as a Reformer in the Church of England, was rapidly coming to a close. His appeals and remonstrances were alike unavailing. On a calm review, it must be admitted, that he sought the accomplishment of a work which, in the nature of things, could not be effected by the kind of agency he wished to be employed. The end he had in view was worthy, but he mistook the means. In one of his petitions, he says:—"Unless the magistrate do uphold the honour of the Lord against Satan, it will fall to the ground for ought man can see." He might as well have said, that the stars would fall without scaffolding. Parliament had no disposition for such a work. The attempts made to correct the more flagrant abuses met with no success. That the reader may judge in this matter for himself, we will step together, with his courteous permission, into the chapel of Old St. Stephen's. It contains a "few noble," and their sentiments are admirable, but they speak under great discouragement. The debates are very miscellaneous, and close often

abruptly, so that we must attend, on two or three occasions, to catch the spirit of the assembly. The discussion to-day is on the "Bill for Coming to Church and receiving the Communion."

*Mr. Aglionby* is giving utterance to a truth which finds a secret response in many, who dare not openly express it. Listen:—"No human positive law can enforce conscience, which is not discernible in this world. The conscience of man is eternal, invisible, and not in the power of the greatest monarchy in the world; in any limits to be straitened; in any bounds to be contained; nor with any policy of man; if once decayed, to be raised again."

*Mr. Strickland* has risen; not to reply but to suggest some modification. "Conscience may be free, but not to disturb the common quiet."

*Mr. Dalton* follows:—"Conscience does not concern law-makers at all. If our proceedings are orderly, according to our own conscience in making the law, let the rest care for themselves."

This may suffice to show the temper of the House. We do not admire the negative tone of *Mr. Strickland*, yet, in his way, he was a sort of confessor. For some remarks he made on the necessity for the reformation of the Book of Common Prayer, he was sent for next day by the Queen's Council, and commanded by them to forbear going to the House till their further pleasure should be further known.

Feb. 27, 1592-3.—The house is much fuller than when we last attended; and curious it is to see the grave and long-bearded burgesses clustering together

in expectation of something more than common. *Mr. Morrice* has in his hand two bills, which he is not allowed to describe in detail; and which the Speaker, in his official capacity, does not receive; but it is known that they relate to the imposition of oaths by the Ecclesiastical Courts, and to the practice of imprisonment for the refusal of these unlawful oaths.

*Mr. Dalton* is the first to speak on this occasion—"I have great dislike to both the bills. We have received strict commandment from her Majesty not to meddle with things concerning the reformation of the Church and State.

*Sir Francis Knollys*.—"I am of opinion, that the object of the bill, *Mr. Morrice* would have us now to consider, is good, and that it ought to be read."

*Dr. Lewen*.—"I am in favour of inquisition, subscription and binding absolution. In the State, the prince is at the head; the bishops and ministers are as the shoulders and arms; the common people are as the legs and toes."

*Oliver St. John*.—"As to the argument from antiquity, in support of these practices of the Ecclesiastical Courts, it was once answered in parliament, that thieves may prescribe to take purses on Shooter's-hill, because, time of out mind, they had done so."

*Sir Robert Cecil* rises very reluctantly, and his tone is so low, that we cannot well hear—but the drift of his remarks seemed to be this—He rather approves the bill and likes the author, but thinks that the House should do nothing rashly. It is agreed then, that the Speaker shall in a private capacity read the bills, and keep the contents of them perfectly secret.

Feb. 28. The House is in a panic to-day, and the Speaker looks jaded. What is in the wind? What profound silence! There is to be a speech from the chair. We shall catch every word:—"Yesterday a grave member of this House delivered up two bills unto me, which bills, though not read, yet were diversely spoken unto. They being long, the matter of great importance, and the day being almost spent, I desired further time to consider and conceive of the parts of the bill. I humbly thank the honourable House time was freely granted me. It being almost twelve of the clock before we rose hence—yet before two of the clock I had perused and read over both of the bills. I have them about me, and they have been continually with me ever since they were delivered me. Never any man saw them, nor no eye, any more than my own, ever saw one word of them. A little after that I had perused the bills, I was sent for, by a special messenger from her Majesty, coming from her royal presence. I was commanded, and am commanded, to deliver these words from her most excellent Majesty unto the body of the realm; for so she accounted this House. The matter I have to speak is great—yea, it is the greatest matter that ever I had to deal with. Wherefore, I pray God to direct—*mentem meam et linguam hanc*. I must be short—for her Majesty's words were not many—and I may, perhaps, fail in the delivery of them; for though my audacity be great, yet who is so impudent that whom the presence of such a Majesty would not appal; and it did greatly fear me, when I saw none of those honourable personages in her



presence who were present at the handling of the matter in the House. Yet so God had appointed it, that even in this while came some of the persons here present—who, if I fail in delivering what was given in charge, can report it to you; and I am glad they were witnesses with me in this action what was my faithful service to this House. It was a thing I greatly feared, and I protest a greater comfort never befel me than this—that my integrity and faithful promise made unto this House is not violated; for her Majesty, in her most gracious wisdom, before my coming, determined not to press me with this. Neither did she require the bills of me; but when I humbly signified what my vow and promise was unto this House, she mercifully allowed of it. Only she required to know of me what were the things in the bill spoken to try the House—which points I only delivered, they that heard me can tell.

“The message committed unto me by her Majesty consisted in three things; first—the end why the parliament was called; second—the speech which her Majesty used by the Lord Keeper; thirdly—what her pleasure and commandment now is.

“For the first it is me, and in my only power (I speak now in her Majesty’s person) to call and summon parliament. It is in my power to assent and dissassent to anything done in the parliament. The calling of this parliament was that the majesty of God might be more religiously served; and those that neglect this service, ought to be compelled by some sharper means to a more due obedience and true service of God than hitherto they have used; and

further, that the safety of her Majesty's person, and of this realm, ought, by all means possible, to be provided for against our great enemies, the Pope and the King of Spain. Her Majesty's pleasure being then delivered unto us by the Lord Keeper, that it was not meant that we should meddle either in matters of State, or causes Ecclesiastical; for so she termed them. She wondered that any could be so forgetful of her commandment, or so bold, concerning her commandment, as to attempt—I use her own words—a thing so express contrary to that she had forbid: wherewith she was highly offended. And because the words there spoken by the Lord Keeper, are not, perhaps, now well remembered; or some be now here that were not then present; her Majesty's present charge and express commandment is, that no bills tending to the matter above said, of State or Reformation, in causes Ecclesiastical, be exhibited; and, upon my allegiance, I am commanded, if any such bill be exhibited, not to read it."

"Wonderfully tedious," says the indulgent reader. Nothing more so; yet, it is in such a scene only that we can rightly estimate the difficulties of an Ecclesiastical Reformer in the days of Elizabeth. Mr. Morrice wrote a treatise on the oath *ex-officio*; and, to avoid offence, presented it in manuscript to Lord Burleigh. But his moderation did not save him. He was seized in the House by the Serjeant-at-Arms; dismissed from his office as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; deprived of his practice as a lawyer; and, for several years, kept a prisoner in Tetbury Castle.

With all our respect for the motives of Penry in urging Parliament to effect the needful change, we must regard his project as utopian.\* Bishop Bancroft has left a memorandum in which, in reference to the Reformation sought by the Puritans, he says—"The conquest brought not such an alteration. Six kings' reigns of Parliaments would not bring this platform to any tolerable government." †

Silently, but not without disappointment, Penry abandoned the hope of Reformation, either by Parliament, or the Convocation House. From communications with some of his old companions in Cambridge, he learnt that a company of sincere Christians, for the most part in humble life, met together in the south of England, for mutual edification and united worship. They were stigmatized as Brownists, whilst repudiating earnestly all association with Robert Browne, ‡ and sought to effect no grand national change in ecclesiastical polity, but to form amongst themselves a church according to the primitive model. Penry was now prepared to join such a society. He had intended to return to England and to seek a personal audience with the Sovereign, for the purpose of asking her royal consent, at least, to his preaching the Gospel in Wales ;

\* Appendix G.

+ Though our difficulties might be partially removed by legislation, heavy, indeed, would be the responsibilities which would be on a real Church Reformer. To attempt a Reform worthy the name, would be to put the whole Church of England into a crucible, and for this, neither the statesmanship, nor the religious intelligence and feeling of this country are yet prepared."—*Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1851, p. 530.

‡ Appendix H.

but it was his lot to become united with a poor and afflicted people in Southwark—to render them service of untold value; and then to attest to the truth, they embraced and professed in common, with the seal of martyrdom.

## V.

Holy and heavenly spirits, as they are,  
 Spotless in life, and eloquent as wise,  
 With what entire affection do they prize  
 Their new-born church! labouring, with earnest care,  
 To baffle all that may her strength impair;  
 That church—the unperverted Gospel's seat;  
 In their afflictions a divine retreat;  
 Source of their noblest hope, and tenderest prayers,  
 The truth exploring with an equal mind.

WORDSWORTH.

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IN the month of September, 1592, Penry came from Scotland to London, and rested, as he tells us, at the end of his journey, in Long-lane.\* His devoted friend, John Udall,† was dying by inches in the Marshalsea. Mr. Snape, formerly minister of St. Peter's, at Northampton, after suffering tedious imprisonment, in conjunction with his brethren, and many privations, had just been released at the intercession of Sir Francis Knollys;‡ and, in answer to their own joint petitions,

\* Examination of Penry. Harleian MSS., 7042. † Appendix I.  
 ‡ Appendix J.

Cartwright had retired to his suburban retreat at Hackney. Their party, for the time, was broken up; and they were unwilling to carry on the hopeless contest further. The Separatists, to whom Penry now attached himself, were not, strictly speaking, a party. They recognized no human leaders; though, with grateful affection, they accepted the service of any who might aid them in their earnest enquiries after truth. That we may form a more correct acquaintance with their Character and position, we must view them in their relation to the Puritans, with whom Penry had been hitherto associated. An extract from a letter, written by Mr. Cartwright to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Stubbs, August 30, 1590,\* will make the subject sufficiently clear:—

“Although,” he writes, “the church ought, indeed, to be obedient to the voice of Christ, yet it followeth not, that whosoever obey not in all things, the voice of Christ is not of the church. The wife ought to obey her husband; yet it followeth not, that because she obeyeth not, therefore she is no wife; so the church in this land is not unchurched; neither ceaseth to be reputed a church until the Lord taketh from her the ministry of the word, and the administration of the sacraments.

“You conclude, we are not of the Church of Christ, seeing we have no free election of ministers. If, for this want, we be not of the Church of Christ—how much more are you not of that church, who have no ministers at all, and no election at all? There is not

\* Harleian MSS. Vol. 7581. Art. 3.;

so much as one amongst you that is fit for the function of the ministry, by those necessary gifts which are required in the ministers of the word.

“ You answer, that you believe that which Christ and his Apostles taught, and which you teach one another. But how came you to know the true exposition of the Scriptures, having no gift to reach unto it, nor any to teach you, or to translate them for you ?

“ I grant that the Church of God on earth cannot discern the invisible church, and the company of the elect, otherwise than by the fruits of the Spirit. That you may not, therefore, join with us in the spiritual service of God is not sound ; since it is a spiritual service to hear the word of God, and one of the principal services ; yet a Christian may hear the word where there are infidels and unbelievers present ; and not only communicate with them in the word, but also be glad that they will so far communicate with them. I ought not to join with them ; yet, having no authority or power to separate from them, I ought not to cease from the service of God which is commanded. There is no cause why I should also lose the fruit of the one to avoid the infection of the other.

“ Your fond reason is, that the Lord being one, His people are not to be divided—some with Christ, and some not with Him. As if your unity with Christ, and separation from all who are not His, were not imperfect ; and here only commenced, to be perfected when Christ shall make a final separation between the sheep and the goats. There are, I confess, in the Church of England, divers things not suiting well with

the security of the Gospel ; yet are there, also, those wherein you bring a wrong report of her ; not as of a virgin in Israel, but as one not at all of the Israel of God ; charging her with the evil which she doeth not, and taking from her the good which the Lord doeth in her.

“Your assemblies seek divers things which are to be desired, yet overcharged, not only in the disordered manner of seeking them, but also in the things themselves which you seek to obtain.

“I care not who, of your friends and favourers, may examine my answer ; yet would I crave this of you ; that you may have the first reading in your chamber by yourself—lest the cause of your patience and judgment, by some temptation, be broken off. If you remember the frailty of all mankind, subject to error ; then the weakness of yourself, and the small ordinary means you have had of discerning, exactly, the truth ; it will be a good help to you of striving according to the measure of faith the Lord hath bestowed upon you. So deserving, that the Lord may, indeed, open the eyes of your understanding, and bless unto you any good means to bring you unto the kingdom of His dear Son, over all the hills and mountains that either the woman’s frailty, or the malice of Satan, may cast in your way.”

George Giffard, vicar of Maldon, another Puritan divine, wearied of imprisonment, and of his suspension from his living, expressed an opinion of the Separatists even more unfavourable than that of Cartwright.\* He says, that “instead of gentleness, meekness, patience,

\*“A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England ; by Geo. Giffard.” 1590.



mercy, and love," the "voice of the devil" is heard in these "furious and blind schismatics." They proclaim "that all the Lord's people are free," and may use their liberty without imposition. As an "example of their audacity," the minister of God's Holy Word, at Maldon, quotes, in full, the "sum of their profession."

1.—"We seek" (say these frantic and presumptuous heretics), "above all things, the peace and protection of the Most High, and the kingdom of Christ Jesus our Lord.

2.—"We seek, and fully purpose, to worship God aright, as He hath commanded in His Holy Word.

3.—"We seek the fellowship and communion of His faithful and obedient servants, and, together with them, to enter covenant with the Lord; and by the direction of His Holy Spirit, to proceed to a godly, free, and right choice of ministers, and other officers, by Him ordained to the service of His church.

4.—"We seek to establish and obey the ordinances and laws of our Saviour Christ, left, by His last will and testament, to the governing and guiding of His church without altering, changing, innovating, wresting, or leaving out any of them that the Lord shall give us sight of.

5.—"We purpose, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, in this faith and order to lead our lives; and for this faith and order to leave our lives, if such be the good will and pleasure of our heavenly Father; to whom be all glory and praise for ever. Amen."

There was nothing, surely, "Satanic" in these professions.

Mr. Giffard complains, that nothing less than church perfection will content this "vile schism;" and that they are "desirous of victory, triumph, and glory over all, both wise and learned." "The stern of Christ's ship," he says, "requires men of the greatest wisdom, learning, and sobriety;" but the common "artificer, the apprentice, and the brewer, will guide the same with presumptuous ignorance and bold frenzy."

It is true that the church in Southwark was composed mainly of artizans. We do not find, indeed, a brewer amongst them; though it is quite possible there might be one of this craft, when ale was used for breakfast instead of the modern beverages—tea and coffee. The names of some of the members we may mention, with their respective ages and occupations:—Quintin Smith, aged thirty, of Southwark, felt-maker; Thomas Micklefield, joiner, thirty-two years of age, of St. Mary Overies; Leonard Pedder, thirty, shoemaker, Blackfriars; Christopher Diggins, twenty-four, weaver; Henry Broadwater, twenty-nine, scrivener, of St. Nicolas-lane; Edward Grave, fishmonger, of St. Botolph's, in Thames-street; William Marshall, thirty-two, of Wapping, shipwright; Arthur Billott, a native of Cornwall, twenty-five, formerly a "scholar and a soldier." How the last combined his literary and military pursuits is not explained.

No one aspired to be leader. The remark of Mr. Cartwright to Mrs. Stubbs was perfectly correct, that they had "no minister."

In the summer time, they met together in the fields, a mile or more about London. There they sat down

upon a bank, and divers of them expounded out of the Bible so long as they were there assembled. In the winter time, they assembled themselves, by five of the clock in the morning, to that house where they made the conventicle for that Sabbath-day—men and women together; there they continued in the kind of prayers and exposition of Scriptures all the day, They dined together. After dinner, they made a collection for their diet; and what money was left some of them carried to the prison, where any of their sort were committed. An eye-witness says, that “in their prayer, one speaketh and the rest do groan, or sob, or sigh, as if they would wring out tears; but do not say after him that prayeth.”\*

“The vicar of Maldon” says, that they insisted on perfection. The statement is not literally true. They well knew that no church on earth could be immaculate; but they felt the need of Christian discipline, at once mild and firm; and they practised excommunication even when their church meetings were held—by the indulgence of the jailor—in prison. They were not insensible to the trials involved in separation; but they acted in obedience to the command:—“Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord; and touch not the unclean thing: and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.”

They confessed their weakness, but they were encouraged by the thought, that in the “weakness” of His people the strength of God is “made perfect.”

\* MS. entitled “Certain Wicked Sects and Opinions, 1558 and 89, Anno. 31. Elizabeth.”

As in the primitive age of the church "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" were called; yet, they had to say, "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen; yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in His presence."

The indignities and cruelties practised on such of their number as fell into the hands of the pursuivants of the archbishop are almost incredible. Walking very recently, on a beautiful summer's day, in the extensive parterre in front of the palace at Lambeth, we found it difficult to realize in imagination the scenes witnessed there in the days of Whitgift; especially, associated as the archiepiscopal residence now is with the excellence of its present occupant. The grounds are pleasant, marred only by the smoke and noise of a neighbouring foundry. Every person about the place seems to represent the mild dignity and Christian beneficence of the estimable primate. There are indications in the mansion itself of the great contrast between the past and the present. The modern portion of the building is built of stone, polished, and in perfect order. Due provision has been made for light and air. The ancient part is of brick and stone; poorly lighted; very dingy; and here and there may be seen, in the walls, pieces of old iron grating. The path is covered with moss, the green of which is nearly lost in layers of soot. This corner of the house is in keeping with the recollections it awakens. Henry Barrowe, B.A.,

and John Greenwood, M.A., the earnest advocates of the cause of Christian truth and freedom, in connexion with the Separatists, were brought up here on Lord's day, the 19th of November, 1586. From that time, with the exception of short intervals, they had suffered imprisonment until the arrival of Penry in 1592.\*

To this people, so despised and so afflicted, Penry, with his love of truth and nobleness of nature, was in haste to join himself. By the connivance of the jailor, or in some freak of the clerical magistrates, Greenwood was liberated for a short time and met him with Francis Johnson (Fellow of Christ Church, Cambridge), a former opponent, in the house of Roger Rippon, in Southwark. The coincidence to them all was strange and affecting. A few months before, Francis Johnson was in Holland, and employed by the ambassador, at the suggestion of the archbishop, in destroying the books printed there from the manuscripts of Barrowe and Greenwood; sent from prison in England. Penry, at that time, was far away in the north, and now they met, and were of one mind and of one heart.

Penry was desired to take office amongst them, but he would not. "It hath been my purpose," he said, always to employ my small talent in my poor country of Wales, where I know that the poor people perish for want of knowledge; and this was the only cause of my coming out of that country where I was, and might have stayed, privately, all my life; even because I saw myself bound, in conscience, to labour

\* Penry's Examination.—*Baker's MSS. Appendix K.*

for the calling of my poor kindred and countrymen unto the knowledge of their salvation in Christ."

He intended, if an opportunity should occur before he went thither, to offer himself unto her Majesty, or some of their honours, that it might be made known unto her Highness what he held in religion, and how clear he was of those greivous crimes of sedition, and disturbing her Majesty's peacable government, where-with he was wrongfully charged.

The office, he declined, was accepted by other brethren. A day was appointed for the ordination solemnities. Francis Johnson,\* who had, at one time, "condemned the separation earnestly," was chosen pastor; and Mr. Greenwood, doctor (teacher); and Bowman and Lec, deacons; and Studley and George Kniston, apothecary, were chosen elders; in the house of one Fox, in Nicholas Lane (now 80, King William Street).

When fully organized, the sacraments were administered; and due attention given to the temporal and spiritual interests of the members. One of the communicants tells us, that "five loaves or more were set upon the table. The pastor did break the bread, and then delivered it to some of them, and the deacons delivered to the rest; some of the congregation sitting, and some standing about the table. The pastor delivered the cup unto one, and he to another, till they all had drunken; using the words at thereof as are set

\* "A very grave man he was, and an able teacher; and was the most solemn, in all his administrations, that we have seen any."—*Governor Bradford, in 'Young's Chronicles,'* p. 445.

"Mr. Johnson was their pastor when they were in Southwark."—*Baker's MSS.*

down in the 1 Cor. xi., 24. Every one gave as his ability was; and, the collection being gathered, was delivered to the deacons to be distributed amongst those of their congregation which the deacons did think good, and most to stand in need." \*

It was intended to organize a second church in the house at which Mr. Collins preached, and where the brethren, John Nicolas, Thomas Mitchell, and John Barnes, were accustomed to meet; but an intercepted letter, falling into the hands of Bishop Bancroft, revealed their plans and led to their frustration.†

Though Penry declined all official responsibility, he was deeply interested in this little Christian community. The more he understood their principles, and observed the spirit and conduct of the brethren, the more he felt at home amongst them, and laboured to advance their sacred cause. As soon as he obtained apartments of his own, he invited the church to meet in his room, and occasionally he preached in some of the stations in the Borough, Smithfield, Islington, or Stepney, appointed for the different bands of the church compelled in this way to divide itself for their greater security.

Christopher Bowman tells us, he was married at Penry's house, and that Greenwood was present.

The press was no longer at command, but Penry resumed his old occupation, and prepared a treatise on the "History of Corah, Dathan and Abiram,"‡ which was copied, and freely circulated, in manuscript, among the brethren. A few extracts from the tractate

\*Baker's MSS. †Bancroft's Survey. ‡"Historie of Corah, &c.. &c.," 1609.

will show how completely the writer adopted the principles of the Separatists:—

“It is certain,” he begins, “that this age cannot in any way brook to have the truth manifested and spoken in the same, except it be by piecemeal; so that, if ever it was said to the seer ‘see not,’ and to the prophets, ‘prophecy not us right things; but speak flatteries; prophecy errors; depart out of the way; go aside out of the path; cause the Holy One to cease from us;’ the very same is now said and stood unto in these miserable days. Nay, those that would be reckoned our leaders, our eyes, our guides, are now become the guides of Anathoth; and say, plainly, ‘prophecy not in the name of the Lord, that thou die not by our hands.’

“All estates and sorts of men—high and low—have reason why to reject the truth; why to condemn it; why to tread it under foot, and to prosecute the same.

“It is not pleasant, because it draweth men into inconveniences; it reproveth them to their faces; discovereth their evil walkings; it endangereth those that profess the same; it carrieth but a mean train after it. It is odious and offensive, for the same causes; it is uncivil, proud, and haughty, because it will correct and reform all; it will alter states; it regardeth not the years, bearing credit, wisdom, and estimation of those that stand against it; but goeth about to bring all under foot, and to make them all to stoop under it, or else threateneth to break them like a potter’s vessel; it will not be silent at their commandment, but, contrary-wise, enforceth them to flee her presence, and not to



have a word to speak, that they dare stand unto, while she is in place.

"These, and such like, are the causes why the truth of God is so meanly attended upon, and utterly cast off among men in our days; for what reason is there (as men usually conclude) that those who, in the estimation of the most, are learned, godly, religious, should have their practices and themselves condemned as violators of the Lord's moral commandments, seeing they are especially deemed to urge the observation of them?

"As an answer to all these frivolous cavils of flesh and blood, I oppose, once for all, the Word of God and the truth thereof."

In answer to the charge, that their principles were "traitorous, seditious, schismatical"—in one word, "Brownism"—opposed to the "judgment of reformed churches" and the opinions of "excellent and famous men"—he replies: "What is all this to the truth? Is it any new thing to see the truth arraigned, indicted, condemned, and executed for treason and sedition, though never convicted of the same? We consider not whether kingdoms and states be so out of order as that the truth cannot come to light, but it will be accounted traitorous among them. The only thing that we especially respect is, whether it be truth or not; the which, being found, hold it we must; defend it we must; whatsoever account man's corruption maketh thereof. And, therefore, here is no more said against it but what, in all ages, hath been falsely uttered against the truth. Falsely, I say, because no truth can be traitorous unto the state of any prince or potentate.

“Touching the crime of Brownism, schism, &c. It is an unconscionable slander; for truth holdeth of no creature; it is derived only from that Head in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden—that is, from Jesus Christ. Yet this I know to be the usual badge of the truth—to be called after the names of men\*—to be accounted schismatical—that thereby the hearts of the simple may be alienated from the same. Odious and offensive it hath been already granted to be, only in their eyes who refuse to be guided by the line and rule of the Master Builder. Whereas, otherwise, it is precious unto them that labour to square themselves and their actions according to the pattern of the holy sanctuary and temple.

“Touching reformed churches. We are to walk by the line of the Word, and not after the judgments of men. The case is marvellous strange, that we, having the written Word of God at home, and the things accused by the same to be out of order present before our eyes, shall run from the Word and from common sense, so far also from home, to ask the judgments of men in that case which, on the one side, they know not aright, and therefore cannot pronounce an equal sentence thereof; yea, when their judgments are gotten, there is no more had but conclusions of men. Her Majesty’s authority I acknowledge; but it doth no whit infringe her royal power and authority to deny that she hath any warrant, any power, any sword, granted her of God, to establish either false religion, false and antichristian ordinances, or yet any other unwarrantable or unjust constitution.

“Yet—if of oversight she hath imposed any such thing upon her subjects, and inflicted a penalty upon them for not obeying that whereto they cannot yield any submission without the breach of God’s law—I hold it to be the duty of private men to suffer patiently the stroke of her sword, and in no wise to withstand the power thereof, either by open or secret practices; but only to betake themselves and their cause unto the Lord God—earnestly desiring Him to pass by her oversight, and to incline her, heart and hand, to suppress all falsehood, violence, and oppression.

“Now, if her Majesty, and this High Court, require of us that we resort unto the public assemblies of the land, and so to enter into the antichristian band, and continue therein, I answer again, that this is against the written Word of God; and, therefore, that her Majesty hath no power, no authority from the Lord, to require this at our hands. We are punished for it. We answer again, that the sword is given for our wealth, and not for our hurt; that it ought not to be drawn against us for well-doing; yet we patiently and quietly bear the stroke. We dare not resist. We dare not rebel against the powers. Nay, we entreat our God, day and night, for the prosperity of her Majesty’s crown; desiring Him in mercy to pass by this blemish of her government, and not to lay it to her charge; earnestly craving that her eyes, and the eyes of your honours may be opened to see our innocency of the truth wherein we stand; and monishing both her and you, that although we, for our parts, know ourselves bound, even in nature, to pacify

the hard dealing of our prince and country towards us by suffering and bearing of their injuries as we would do our parents—that yet the Lord God, who judgeth without respect of persons, is an avenger of all such.

Christ Jesus, being the head of His church, hath all fulness of power, pre-eminence, and authority, dwelling in Himself, in such sort as His body and spouse is no more to submit herself unto the power of another head, than to receive the false doctrines and false sacraments of some other religion or god.”

In answer to those who said—“ We have nothing to do, what office they have, so they preach the truth ;” he concludes, “ This is it which Satan would have ; to wit—that his ordinances, his power, his ministry, should be received of us without any scruple, or doubt what we do thereby. Grant him this once, and he will soon overthrow all religion. I have shewed before, that a good conscience will begin with a lawful calling and office, especially in this holy work ; and, therefore, if men have not forgotten to be ashamed, let them not use this graceless, uncolourable shift any longer to justify their uneven walking. For if their outward office and calling will not abide the fire of the Word, they are but wolves and usurpers whosoever they be ; and if they be ashamed, or think themselves too good to derive their office, authority, and power, from Jesus Christ, the Church of Christ, and every member thereof, ought to be ashamed and afraid to receive them. Nay, the church cannot receive them without high treason against the Head thereof, Christ Jesus, unto whose power alone we must submit ourselves, for we have

none other head but Him; and, therefore, will acknowledge no other power but His to have authority to work upon our consciences. If they mean to serve Jesus Christ, let them enter into His house, and not continue in the pavilion of His enemy; let them cast off their antichristian cognizance and office, and derive their office from Him. If preaching be their office, what office have they where they preach not? What office have the dumb ministers that cannot preach?"

Penry was now in his proper element. He found himself amongst faithful brethren—poor, afflicted, and standing in jeopardy every hour, but true as the dial the sun shines on.

Bancroft, in reference to their steadfastness, says\*—  
“They are entered into a league amongst themselves, of all manner of secresy, for the not detecting of one another in any of their proceedings. If you find any writings amongst them you may thereby learn something peradventure, otherwise they will confess nothing. When examined upon their oaths, they will say nothing but what they were bound to do; and that, therefore, they might detect no man whereby to bring him within the compass of any law for doing his duty.”

Very curious it is to see, from the Report of the examinations at Lambeth still in existence, how the Commissioners were baffled by the firmness of these simple and devoted people. One or two extracts, in passing, may interest the reader.†

“John Clerke, husbandman, of the parish of Wall-soken, in the county of Norfolk, was committed, three

\* Bancroft's Survey.    † Baker's MSS., vol. xvi., 52

years past, by the Sheriff of London ; being taken in an assembly with Barrowe, and not examined until this time ; he saith that he will not go to church, nor to any sermons. It was thought good by the Commissioners that he should be sent to Bridewell to grind in the mill.

“ Edward Grave, fishmonger, of the parish of St. Botolph, in Thames-street, aged 25 years, was committed to prison a week past. Item : he saith that he hath been of this opinion of the sectaries this half year, and was persuaded by the sermons of Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Philips, who preached, that men were bound to hear, and to be ruled by the pastor, elders, and deacons. He saith that he will not go to church until he be better persuaded ; and confesseth that he had one of Barrowe’s ‘ Book of Conference,’ which he sent to Pedar the shoemaker ; and he hath been at the assemblies in the woods at Deptford and Islington ; and also in Nicolas Lane.

“ Roger Waterer, servant to Robert Paye, of the parish of St. Martin’s, Ludgate, was committed to Newgate, by Dr. Stanhope, three years past and a quarter, and was never examined. The cause of this imprisonment (he saith) was for that he went not to his parish church in three weeks, and was fetched out of his master’s house. He saith that he was once at an assembly in a garden house near Bedlam, where James Forester did expound the Scriptures. Being demanded whether he will go to church, he saith that he will do as he may be persuaded by the Word of God. He

saith that he had the 'Book of Conference,' but what is become of it he knoweth not.

"Christopher Diggins, weaver, aged 24 years, is servant to Nicolas Haverin, of the parish of St. Olave's, in Southwark, and was one of them that carried the coffin to Mr. Young's door, and saith that he hath not been at church these two years. He being demanded whether he will go to church, he saith he will not. He saith that he was in the assemblies every Lord's-day, by the space of two years."

The allusion, in the answer of the last confessor, to the coffin, relates to the proceedings in Newgate on the death of Roger Rippon. Soon after the organization of the church, by the appointment of ministers and elders, he was taken into custody. His name appears, in connection with other Christian brethren in bonds, in a petition representing the frightful miseries they endured. They say—"Contrary to all law and equity, we have been imprisoned, separated from our trades, wives, children, and families; yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort, many of us the space of two years and a half, upon the bishop's sole commandment, in great penury and noisomeness of the prisons; many ending their lives never called to trial; some bailed forth to the sessions; some cast in irons and dungeons; some in hunger and famine; all of us debarred from any lawful audience before our honourable governors and magistrates, and from all benefit and help of the laws; daily defamed and false accused by published pamphlets—by private suggestions and open preaching; and above all, which most utterly

toucheth our salvation, they keep us from all spiritual comfort and edifying by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference. Seeing, for our conscience only, we are deprived of all comfort, we most humbly beseech that some more mitigate and peaceable course might be taken—that some free and Christian conference might be had, publicly or privately, where our adversaries may not be our judges—that our case, with the reason and proof on both sides, might be recorded by indifferent notaries and faithful witnesses; and if anything be found in us worthy of death or bonds, let us be made an example to all posterity; if not, we entreat for some compassion to be shewn in equity according to law for our relief; and that, in the meantime, we may be bailed to do her Majesty service, work in our callings, to provide things needful for ourselves, our poor wives, disconsolate children and families lying upon us; or else that we might be prisoners together in Bridewell, or any other convenient place, where we might provide such relief, by our diligence and labours, as might preserve life, to the comfort of our souls and bodies.”

Roger Rippon fell by the prison plague in 1592, shortly after the issue of this document. His fellow prisoners prepared an inscription which should be at once a protest, an indictment, and an epitaph; and, in sorrowful procession, it was carried by brethren, yet at liberty, from the gaol to the door of Justice Young.\*

\* Daniel Buck says, “a stranger shewed him a copy of the inscription on Roger Rippon’s coffin, at his own shop.” The name of William Smith, of Bradford, Wilts, aged thirty, minister, appears as one of those who were “imprisoned for carrying the coffin.”



The desire, expressed in the petition, that they might, be "prisoners together in Bridewell" (an ancient prison on the banks of the Thames), arose from the circumstance that there, as we have already intimated, they found opportunity for united worship. It was their richest solace to meet together. Barrowe says, "So sweet is the harmony of God's graces unto me in the congregation, and the conversation of the saints at all times, as I think myself as a sparrow on the house-top when I am exiled from them." That they did thus meet for their "mutual help and comfort" we learn from the confession of Robert Aburn\* of Southwark, who tells us, that on the information of William Houghton' "a brother, deceased," he went to Bridewell to see their order of service, and became acquainted with the rest of the brethren. He heard Mr. Stanhope "preach amongst them in the prison openly;" his friend Houghton, acting the part of Barnabas, related the experience of the new visitor; and told them, that for a year and a half he had attended the assemblies, and was worthy of confidence. On the personal declaration of his religious sentiments, and purpose to walk in the truth, Robert was "received and admitted to that society and congregation."

This holy and loving constancy caused great difficulty to the persecuting prelates, who had to maintain a reputation, such as it was, for Protestantism. "It is the inconvenience attending persecution, that it is necessarily progressive. Small punishments only

\* Examination in Baker's MSS.

irritate. It commences with an intention of suppressing error; baffled in its first attempt, and stung with disappointment, it soon loses sight of its original design. It soon degenerates into a settled resolution to subdue contumacy and strike terror. It becomes a fearful struggle betwixt power and fortitude; the power of inflicting suffering, and that of enduring; which shall wear the other out.”\*

“They go forward headlong” writes Bancroft, respecting the witnessing church at this time, (evidently alarmed by its unity and perseverance), “God knows, whither; I am persuaded, that if there be not good order taken in this behalf, there will some mischief grow of it. The number of them doth increase daily more and more, and for the repressing of them it will not be sufficient (in mine opinion) to use the ordinary course by the ecclesiastical censures or commission.”

It was resolved to proceed to extremities, and to begin with the leaders. In the depth of winter (Dec. 5, 1592), and at the dead of the night, the pursuivants of the archbishop thundered at the door of Mr. Boyes, an honest citizen, living upon Ludgate Hill, and demanded, in the name of the queen, Francis Johnson and John Greenwood, lodging there for the time. They had no warrant; but, no doubt, acting on private instruction from the authorities, they ransacked, at their pleasure, all the chests and closets in the house, under pretence of a search for papers and books.

Between one and two of the clock after midnight, having taken assurance of the master of the house to

\* Robert Hall.

remain a prisoner at home till next day, they marched away with the two ministers, carrying bills and staves to the Counter, in Wood-street, Cheapside.

According to previous arrangement, his grace of Lambeth, accompanied with certain doctors of divinity, attended punctually on the bench, and committed them to close prison. Soon after, one of the assemblies was surprised in the same manner on the Lord's day, and several of their number captured and thrown into the Gate-house. The rest were marked as victims, and the utmost effort made to discover their hiding place. They never met but at the peril of imprisonment, and in the prospect of death; for the legislature had been influenced to make their simple exercise, if persisted in, a capital offence. If apprehended, they were required to take the declaration of conformity, failing in that, in three months to abjure the realm; and if seen again, without the queen's license, to suffer death without benefit of clergy. Meanwhile, the poor prisoners had more than they desired of clerical "benefit," in the form of incessant prison visitations. "Twice every week (at least)," says the bishop to his "loving cousins," in reference to this mission, "you shall repair to those prisons and prisoners whose names are in this ticket set down, and seek by all learned and discreet demeanour to reduce them from their errors; and for that, either their conformity or disobedience, they may be made manifest when they come to their trial; therefore, we require you to set down in writing the particular days of your going to confer with them, and, likewise, your censure what it is of them, as that, if occasion do serve to use it, you will be sworn unto."

For their deeper humiliation, the Puritan clergy, who had been "reduced" to an ignominious silence, were employed in this ungracious task. Cartwright was directed to attend on Barrowe and Greenwood; but, after the first interview, he could not be prevailed upon to repeat the visit. Long and most interesting conferences were held which, especially in the case of the brethren just named, ought not to be lost to the world. In the endurance of their grievous wrongs, the imprisoned ministers had no friend at Court to assert their claim to justice or to sympathy.

The pulpit sent forth only bitter and severe invective. The press was fettered, and the bar could furnish no advocate to plead for virtually destroyed equity or law. In the senate, no voice could be uplifted for the support of the charter—violated every day in the persons of these greatly injured men. The annalist has passed over some of the most important memorials—needful for the elucidation of their case; and history, so imperfectly instructed, has branded them with infamy, or offered for them a feeble, tame, and hesitating apology. But while immured in their dreary and pestilential dungeons, there was one who put himself in constant and active communication, both with them and their deeply afflicted families. He had a soul for compassion; and there glowed within him the love of pure and holy freedom—simple as a child; bold as a lion; and yet, amongst his brethren, gentle as 'the beloved disciple.' Within a step himself of martyrdom, and fully conscious of his peril, he was nevertheless undismayed. Words he had at a command such as the noblest sons of England have ever found to defend her

sacred cause in the persons of his oppressed and undefended companions in tribulation. He wrote anonymously, and in the name of his brethren, to the Privy Council.

That national conclave might act unworthily, and treat the appeal with indifference or contempt; but if the document should remain, posterity would know that, in the darkest and weakest hour, the cause of liberty, the cause of his country, and, as such, the cause of humanity, had not been betrayed.

To-day, and possibly for the first time, that manifesto is transcribed. While the pen passes over the lines, we feel that the Greek, in walking over the plain of Marathon, can know no emotions more animating than those inspired by its simple but burning words:—

“The Right Honourable the Lords and others of her Majesties most Honourable Privy Council.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE:—Though our extreme calamities, by sickness, wants, griefs, and troubles in noisome and irksome prison, would urge us to a larger discourse, yet the knowledge of your manifold affairs in the Commonwealth do enjoin us to brevity. Therefore, we most humbly beseech your honours, at this time, to read and consider a very short declaration of our loyalty—two brief answers to certain rumours, and our petition concerning our present state—and as your honours find our petition reasonable; our answers Christian; and our loyalty entire to our Sovereign Prince; so we entreat your lordships, for God’s sake,

to be a mean to relieve us, especially them who are known to be in extreme distress by sickness and want.

“ A BRIEF DECLARATION OF OUR FAITH AND  
LOYALTY TO HER MAJESTY.

“1. *Christ's Laws*.—We fully acknowledge our duties to obey and practice, within our calling, the laws of Jesus Christ our heavenly King, in and above all things, worshipping Him according to the rules of Christ's Testament, because the same are perpetual, immutable, most holy, just, and wise—only thought meet in His own wisdom for all times, places, and persons; and, therefore, upon pain of damnation, to be embraced of all men.

“2. *Titles*.—We fully acknowledge her Majesty's title to the crown, by right descent, from the undoubted kings of this realm, her most royal progenitors.

“3. *Supremacy*.—We fully acknowledge her Majesty supreme governess in magistracy, and all persons and causes within her highness's dominions within the church or without.

“4. *Prayer for her Majesty's person*.—We fully acknowledge our duty to pray for the preservation of her royal person, and that they are negligent who forget this duty; that they are atheists who condemn it; and they are traitors who deny it.

“5. *Lands and goods*.—We fully acknowledge our duty to yield the half, or all our lands and goods, towards the maintenance of her princely estate, or other benefit of our country, whether by way of benevolence,

that more grievous punishment should be inflicted upon such a people than upon any manner of malefactors, traitors, idolaters, papists, heretics, adulterers, liars, swearers, and such like.

“Yea, but the rumour goeth that we are heretic, schismatic, holding most ungodly opinions. Right honourable—this rumour is false. In error, it may be that we are; for we confess ourselves to be sinful men; yea, daily to sin; and what man—whether you look to the first man, Adam, or to the Patriarchs, Prophets, or Apostles, or to the most learned and holy of the former, later, or present age—what man (say we) except the man Christ Jesus, but hath erred and may err. Therefore (as men), we also may fail in judgment; but heretic or schismatic none can prove us. If they could, it were their own fault thus many years to suffer us to remain in so many parts of the realm unconvinced—especially sith we continually desire an equal trial; for, with cause, we pine alway with astonishment and grief, that no more pitiful order is taken with such a people; but one after another thrust up in the vilest gaols (as Newgate, White Lyon, &c.) amongst the most vagrant rogues, the most infectious, facinorous, and lewd wretches of all the nation. The Lord our God open the ears and eyes of you, the civil magistrates, to hear and see our miseries, and some way to relieve us; so that we also may remember you, in the day of distress, sickness, and death, which is the way of all flesh. Amen.

“In tender consideration of all the premises, our lamentable and humble

## PETITION

unto your honours is, even for God's cause, as you regard the lives of her Majesty's subjects, that you will be a mean to obtain us so much favour as to have equal trial of the matters in question; which thing was never so long denied in this realm, for ought we read, to the veriest papist or heretic that ever was; or else that all, who are bailable by law, may be bailed from these noisome prisons and gaols this spring-time, till the latter end of the next summer, upon sufficient security, to answer unto whatsoever shall be objected against us. This petition we make chiefly for them whose bodies are presently in danger of death by grievous sickness and want, or else diseased by long imprisonment. Secondly—we desire, that for us all, to this end, that we may labour in our vocations, or, at leastwise, have an eye to our families—thereby to guide them in better sort than now they can be governed; who, by reason of our so long absence from them, may soon fall into some of those heinous crimes wherewith we and they are now most unjustly slandered. For what is youth without government? and what government can there be in those houses whose masters are continual prisoners—whose dames are continual suitors, and whose shop windows are always shut (or as good as if they were)? Right honourable—we are persuaded that no chronicles, or books of monuments, or records, do shew a denial of both these requests to any sort or sect who might be drawn or persuaded to yield such obedience as our



declaration doth manifest. But we have been, and are, willing to subscribe to these points of our own accord.

“The greatest supposed heretic in Queen Mary’s days, and the vilest malefactors now-a-days, have had, and have, lawful examining, committing, and trial, and gaol delivery, within a short time appointed by statute, that which some of us can prove that we have not had, nor can have.

“And shall a people who are found, and confessed to be, most contrary in judgment, and greatest enemies to the pope’s supremacy, the seminaries, and all the brood of that apostatical throne—with all their trumperies; and to the king of Spain, and all his treacheries, be as hardly, or more cruelly dealt with than any popish recusant (and that in Queen Elizabeth’s days)? But we cease to question our betters. Yet, in all humility and reverence to your persons and places, we are enforced to stir up your affections, by humble petition, thus earnestly, because, that through the last commission about Jesuit’s, seminary priests, and such as take part with the pope and Spanish king, we, also, are sought after, imprisoned, and indicted, as if we were such. Indeed, right honourable, we and they, both, do refuse to come to the parish assemblies, but with what difference in faith to God and loyalty to our prince, our declaration sheweth.

“Now, right honourable, if we should set forth at large a manifestation of the particular handling of most of us, since her Majesty’s reign—namely, when we were committed—by whom—how examined—how many committed and kept close without warrant—how

long after kept in prison, by warrant without any cause shewed—how many years some have been thus detained, without accusation by witnesses, or any public trial—how many suits and petitions utterly refused or neglected—how many proffers of bail rejected—what usage we have had by keepers and gaolers—how many have died in prisons: and such like things we might bring to open view—such proceedings of the bishops and such as they stir up hereunto, contrary to all conscience—as we hope would make our bountiful queen and her godly magistrates have heart to pity us, when they should but hear or see that which we have known and felt. How long shall our desire of having peace with all men—if it were possible—how long shall our fear of being thought malicious, contentious, and seekers of revenge, cause us to keep silence, and not make such a grievous complaint as this would be, and not seek all lawful means to obtain such a speedy redress as this would ask? Would to God that you knew the truth of those things which we have suffered—then, no doubt, you would pity our lamentable case.

“In consideration whereof, and of all our long imprisonment and great miseries, we humbly entreat for justice, according to her Majesty’s laws; which thing we trust will not be denied us—namely, we desire nothing touching the liberties of our bodies or minds, but what the laws of God, and of our queen, have provided for us; though we could not write for ourselves, nor any sergeant counsellor, or attorney, ever yet durst or would plead for our poor and lamentable

cause; for the which mercy and justice shewed, we all shall be bound to pray to God, our heavenly Father, that He will multiply her Majesty's years (if such be His will) with more blessing, and we and your honours with honour added to honour; and establish unity in true religion, and peace of conscience among them who profess the name of Jesus Christ. Amen."\*

It was men of this order that the legal advisers of Elizabeth, instigated by the Anglican prelates, sought to destroy. To show how little they regarded either the loyal declaration, or the earnest petition, they hastened the work of judicial persecution.

On the 21st of March, 1592-3, they were indicted, in conjunction with others, at the Old Bailey, on the statute of 23rd Elizabeth, for writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government.

At the close of the trial, the Attorney-General immediately sent a report of it to the Lord Keeper. He writes:—

“ My most humble duty to your lordship :—

“ This day, by virtue of her Majesty's last commission of Oyer and Terminer in London, the Court hath proceeded against Barrowe and Greenwood, and against Scipio Bellott, Robert Bowle, and Daniel Studley, for publishing and dispensing seditious books; and they are all attainted by verdict and judgment, and direction given for execution to-morrow, as in case of like quality. None shewed any token of recognition of their offences, and prayer for the same, saving Bellott alone, who

\* *Lansdowne MSS.*, Vol. 109, Art. 14.

desireth conference, and to be informed of his errors; and, with tears, affirmeth himself to be sorry that he hath been misled.

"The others pretend loyalty and obedience to her Majesty, and endeavour to draw all, that they have most maliciously written and published against her Majesty's government, to the bishops and ministers of the church only, and not as meant against her Highness; which being most evident against them, and so found by the jury, yet not one of them made any countenance of submission; but rather persisted in that they be convicted of. This I have thought good to make known to your lordship; to the end, that if her Majesty's pleasure should be to have execution deferred, it might be known this night, and order given accordingly; otherwise, the direction given by the judges in open court will prevail; and so I commit your lordship to the Almighty. 23 Martii, 1592-3.

"Your lordship's most humble at commandment,

"THO. EGERTON."\*

"Upon the 24th," (the day after the trial, writes Barrowe) "early in the morning, was preparation made for our execution; we brought out of the dungeon, our irons smitten off, and we ready to be bound to the cart, when her Majesty's most gracious pardon came for our reprieve. After that, the bishops sent unto us certain doctors and deans to exhort and confer with us. We shewed how they had neglected the time. We had been well nigh six years in their prisons; never

\* Harleian MSS.

refused, but always humbly desired of them Christian conference, but never could obtain it ; and that our time was now short in this world. Upon the last day of the third month, my brother Greenwood and I were very early and secretly conveyed to the place of execution ; where, being tied by the necks to the tree, we were permitted to speak a few words. Thus, craving pardon of all men whom we have any way offended, and freely forgiving the whole world, we used prayer for her Majesty, the magistrates, people, and even for our adversaries. And having, both of us, almost finished our last words, behold ! one was even at that instant come with a reprieve for our lives from her Majesty ; which was not only thankfully received of us, but with exceeding rejoicing and applause of all the people, both at the place of execution, and in the ways, streets, and houses, as we returned." The letter containing this affecting account is addressed to "an honorable lady and countess, of his kindred," and is dated, "this 4th or 5th, of the 4th month, 1593."

In urging his noble relative to intercede for their lives, Barrowe says—"Let not any worldly and politic impediments, unlikelihoods, no fleshly fears, diffidence or delays, stop or hinder you from speaking to her Majesty on our behalf, before she go out of this city, lest we, by your default herein, perish in her absence ; having no assured stay or respite of our lives, and our malignant adversaries ready to watch any occasion for the shedding of our blood ; as we, by those two near and miraculous escapes have found." The merciful negotiation failed.

Two days after the mournful procession to the gallows, Mr. Attorney, writing to the Lord Keeper, says, "I have spent the whole of this afternoon at a fruitless, idle conference, but now returned both weary and weak. If my health will serve me, I will wait upon your lordship to-morrow morning, and make report of this day's exercise." It was agreed that the reprieve should be further extended; but, on the sixth day of May, the two witnesses for their Lord and Saviour were finally conveyed to Tyburn and there put to death.\*

Penry was to be the next victim. It is clear enough, from the letter of the Attorney-General, that the work in which he was employed was felt to be hateful; but, on the principle adopted, there could be no relinquishment of the course prescribed.

"In religion, our conclusions do not respect merely abstract truth and error, nor do they terminate in the intellect; they speak of right and wrong, and act upon the will. Here conscience demands that one profession and one practice should faithfully reflect our opinions. It calls upon us to worship God with our bodies as well as in our minds; to erect an altar, and to perform upon it rites according to the pattern which we believe to be divine. For this duty, it arms the weakest and most fearful of mankind with a supernatural courage; which has, once and again, conquered the most virulent persecutors, simply by presenting to them an interminable line of willing victims, and no prospect of an end to the inhuman labour of torture and death."†

\* Hanbury, Vol. 1, 49. † Dick.

The remnant of the congregation, after all these scenes of violence, still kept together; and Penry, rising above the diffidence which had before prevented him from preaching, took now, and with much acceptance, the place of the ministers who had entered on the gory track of martyrdom.

Some of the members were in extreme poverty; but they were, in part, relieved by a fund left in trust by Mr. Barrowe, with a brother, for their use, when "he saw that he must die."\* We find Penry in every place where service could be rendered, or it was needful to impart a word of encouragement or consolation. The brother, also, of Francis Johnson, the pastor, visited the brethren, and spoke at their meetings, at a garden house in Duke's-place, and at the " Woodsides," in Islington. Once he was taken and brought to the constable's house, but escaped a day or two after. The clue to his discovery was supplied unconsciously by the information elicited by some who were secured. John Edwards, in particular, who came with him, out of Scotland, gave the following particulars to Justice Young:—" On Saturday night, he said, " he walked with Penry along Cheapside, through Newgate; and they went to Nicolas Lee's house, and there he (Edwards) left him and his wife about eight of the clock. In November last, he came with him out of the country. They came first to Mr. Ureton's house, besides Derby, six miles—dined there; and came to Northampton to the house of Henry Godly, who is father-in-law to Penry, and where he lodged. He lay himself at the sign of the ' Bull.'

\* Young's Chronicles, p. 434.

Next day, they came to St. Alban's, and lodged at the sign of the 'Christopher'; and the next day came to Stratford, at Bowe, to the sign of the 'Cross Keys,' where Penry's wife was, and had a chamber—there he (Edwards) left him and came to London; and saw him no more until a little before Christmas. They met at a garden house in Duke's-place, near Aldgate. Since then, deponent had been in the country; and came not up until Saturday was seven-night; and had been at his brother Richford, his house; and upon Wednesday or Thursday morning Penry came to his (examinant's) chamber before he was up, and was booted. He did hear that Penry was lodged at Mrs. Settle's house."

This was enough for the purpose of Mr. Justice Young. By the aid of the vicar of Stepney, Penry's retreat was discovered. Arthur Bellot, the man that put Barrowe's and Greenwood's books to the print, at Dort, was apprehended with him at Ratcliffe.



## VI.

How enviably blest  
 Is he who can, by help of grace, enthrone  
 The peace of God within his single breast.  
 WORDSWORTH.

What—if in prison I must dwell—  
 May I not there converse with Thee?  
 Save me from sin—thy wrath and hell—  
 Call me thy child, and I am free!  
 No walls or bars can keep Thee out,  
 None can confine a holy soul;  
 The streets of Heaven it walks about,  
 Nor can its liberty control.

BAXTER.

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WE are able to give an account of Penry's circumstances, on his apprehension, in his own words. This is the more satisfactory; in that we find, nowhere besides, any clear information accurate as to dates. He says (in a letter to his wife, which will come again before us)—“I was taken, you know, at Ratcliffe, the 22nd of the third month, March 1592—3; carried, the 24th, before Mr. Young; committed by him there into the Counter in the Poultry; carried before Mr. Young

again the 26th\* of the same month, 1593, where were Mr. D. Vaughan and his brother preachers, both sent, as Mr. Young said, by the Lord Keeper, to confer with me. I answered, that I revered the authority of my Lord Keeper, and of the rest of her Majesty's Council; but as for a private conference—inasmuch as my cause was made public, and that my adversaries had my writings in their hands, whereby I moved the parliament in the cause—I saw no reason why I should yield unto any. I desired a public one upon equal conditions; the 28th of the same month, I was called for to confer with Dr. Balguy, of the Temple, when again I desired an equal trial; set down four special heads and the conditions; took a copy of them, and so departed.

The 2nd of the fourth month, April, came Mr. D. Crane, Mr. Greenham, and Mr. Temple, unto the prison, to confer with me both of Christian charity, and also having authority on their sides. I refused all private intermeddling in so public an action; shewed them the things offered by me unto Mr. Young, and accepted for the time in good part by him; demanded whether they had authority to condescend unto these equal conditions, and so I would confer with them, or with any they send me; and thus, after many needless speeches, departed Mr. Temple, very injuriously taking away, whether I would or not, the copy of that which I gave Mr. Young, whereof he sent me a copy, the 5th of the same month, but retained my own.

Upon Wednesday, I was sent for unto the Sessions—

\* The civil year commenced at that time on the 25th of March.

house, where was Mr. George Barnes, as I take it; Mr. Young, Mr. Dale, the Dean of Westminster, and another of the clergy. They offered me an oath which I refused, because it was against conscience and law; protesting, notwithstanding, that I held it lawful to take an oath before a magistrate. Then they examined me of my going with Edward Graves. I answered that I lay at an inn at the time they spake of, but I would go no farther to answer them in this point. Thus far, no farther, I answered herein—both because they knew of it before, and especially for some other respects then moving near. After this, they dealt with me about being in Scotland; in the midst of which discourse they sent me away. I was plain with them, but especially with Mr. Young, herein. This is most memorable, that alledging—Numbers xxxv, 33—they set it down as an article against me, though I read the very words unto them. They were so lamentably ignorant, and lay wait for blood so cruelly, that certainly the Lord's hand is not far off. The Lord shew mercy unto us and them—from my heart I say it. I cannot but think that they thirst after my blood, therefore pray for me, and desire all the church to do the same.”\*

It will not have escaped the attention of the careful reader that Penry was apprehended on the day of Barrowe's trial. He might have remained for some time unacquainted with the issue of it, and of the exciting incidents by which it was followed. But his faithful wife knew all, and her solicitude became almost

insupportable. Accompanied by Catherine Unwin, a widow, at whose house he preached his last sermon, she went to the house of the Lord Keeper to present a memorial to the following effect:—

“The Humble Petition of Helen Penry to the Right Hon. Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of her Majesty’s Great Seal of England.

“In all humbleness beseecheth your honour—your poor suppliant, in the behalf of her poor husband, John Penry; that, whereas, your suppliant’s poor husband is at this present kept close prisoner in the Counter, in the Poultry, in London. None suffered to come to him to bring him such things as are necessary for the preservation of his life and sustenance—he, of himself, *being a very weak and sickly man*, not able long to endure so hard and unreasonable imprisonment without hazard of his life; his allowance being nothing but bread and drink; the keeper refusing to carry such necessaries as are sent unto him for his sustenance, as if he were the veriest traitor that ever was.

“It is not her Majesty’s pleasure that he should be thus hardly used. But, howsoever, great matters are laid to his charge; yet I hope he will prove himself an honest and good subject unto her Majesty.”

“Most humbly, therefore, she beseecheth your honour, for God’s cause, in consideration of her poor husband’s sickly and weak state, that it would please you to grant her your honour’s warrant, that she may have access unto her poor husband to administer such necessaries unto him, as she may, for the preservation of his life;

and your poor oratrice shall be bound, daily, to praise God for so great favour and mercy shewed unto her, which the Lord would not see unrewarded.”\*

By a refinement of cruelty, which never lost an opportunity to wound where sensibility was keenest, the authorities seized the poor widow on the spot, and she was committed to the Gatehouse by the Lord Chief Justice, for “being with Penry’s wife and others, when she delivered the petition to the Lord Keeper.” The only wonder is, that Mrs. Penry herself escaped. The event proved that she was under this impression as to the conduct of the gaoler. Shortly after, Penry returned a certificate, in his favour, in these terms:—  
 “They do Mr. Giltens injury who say that I have wanted either meat or drink competent since I was committed unto his custody. I am likelier to starve for cold than for want of meat. My wife, indeed, cannot be permitted to come unto me; she knoweth not how I fare—and, therefore, she may be in fear that I am, in regard of meat and drink, hardlier used than I am or have been. 4th month, April, 1593. JOHN PENRY.”†

He could not, indeed, improve the wretched condition of the gaol, but, within the regulations made by the justices, and often beyond them, he tried to alleviate the miseries of the Christian confessor.

Seldom when  
 The steeled gaoler is the friend of men.

Yet, there were some instances in which the suffering prisoners found in their keeper sympathy and aid.‡

\* Baker’s MSS., Vol. xv., 378-80. † MSS in State Paper Office. ‡ Appendix M

The allusion of Penry to his wife, in his certificate, was intended to pass under the eye of the authorities, and is not to be regarded as an index to his feeling—at least as to its intensity. On the sixth of April, 1593, he wrote a letter, embodying the sentiments of the Christian, the husband, and the father, which cannot be regarded with indifference by any who retain the slightest moral or natural sensibility. It surely needs no graces of modern diction to lure the reader on to the perusal of the document we here subjoin:—

“To my beloved wife, Hellenor Penry, partaker with me in this life of the sufferings of the Gospel of the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, and resting with me in undoubted hope of that glory which shall be revealed. All strength and comfort, with all other spiritual graces, be multiplied through Jesus Christ my Lord.

“I see my blood laid for (my beloved), and so my days and testimony drawing to an end (for ought I know), and, therefore, I think it my duty to leave behind me this testimony of my love to so dear a sister, and so loving a wife, in the Lord, as you have been to me.

“First, then, I beseech you, stand fast in the truth which you and I profess at this present in much outward discouragement and danger. Let nothing draw you to be subject unto antichrist, in any of His ordinances. Let your soul and your body be far from those assemblies which yield either known or secret submission unto the ordinances of the “beast”—that is to receive his “mark” (a) either in the right hand

or in the forehead—as the Spirit of God saith, for this are you forbidden to do, and that under pain of God's eternal wrath. (b)

Again, my beloved, continue a member of that holy society, whereof you and I am; where the Lord in his ordinances reigneth; for here, and in all such assemblies, the Lord dwelleth by the presence and power of His Spirit. (c.) Here, He is a mighty protector and a defence, ready at hand (d.); and his ordinances, you know, He hath commanded to be greatly observed (e.)

Our souls are to rejoice in those ways more than in all substance and treasure, and the loving kindness of the eternal is for ever towards them and their seed, that remember his ordinances to do them. (1) Whereas all those are accursed that err from his statutes and diminish from the obedience they owe unto His majesty. (2.)

I pray you mark these past places with all such like in the word, against all those that make it a light matter, either not to walk in the ways of our God, or to be subject to small corruptions as they count them, and be armed with the power of the word against all all such lying delusions. (3) In conclusion, my dear wife and sister, look not at any earthly thing; consecrate yourself wholly both soul and body—husband, children, and whatsoever you have, unto the Lord your

(a) Rev. xlii. 16. (b) Rev. xiv. 9, 11; 2 Cor. vi. 14, 16; 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; Rev. xxii. 18, 19; Deut. xii. 30, 32.

(c.) Matt. xviii., 20. xxviii., 20. (d.) Ex. xxix., 45. (e.) Jer. xxvi 11, 12.

(1.) Ps. 103, 17, 18. (2.) Ps. 119, 2. Rev. 22. 9. Ps. 119, 118. (3) II Cor. 6, 14, 15; II Thess. 2. 9.

God. Let them not be dearer unto you than God's service and worship. Know it to be an unspeakable preferment for you, that He vouchsafeth to take either yourself or any of your's to suffer affections with Him and His Gospel here upon earth.\* I am persuaded that you have undergone the profession of the truth upon the condition set down by our Saviour Jesus Christ—that is, to hate all in respect to the Gospel. Fear not the want of outward things. He careth for you. The Lord is my God and your's, and the God of our seed. I know, if you and our poor children continue that, you shall see a blessed reward in this life for those small and weak sufferings of ours for the interest and right of Christ Jesus; for I am assured that the Lord will give a breathing time of comfortable rest unto His oor Church in this life.

In the meantime, wait patiently the Lord's leisure. He is not forgetful of you and your's, especially of His poor church. He cannot deny Himself, and the truth of His promises you know. Be much and often in prayer, night and day in the reading and meditation of His word; and you shall find that He will grant you your heart's desire according to His own pleasure and will. Pray with your poor family and children morning and evening, as you do. Instruct them and your maid in the good ways of God, so that no day pass over your head wherein you have not taught them (especially her) some one principle of the truth.

Think the time greatly gained, as I have often told

\* Luke xviii, 29—30. Matt. xix, 29.



you, that is spent in the word of the Lord. Amongst other places of the word, wherein I would have you be conversant in regard of these times, I pray you read the 37th Psalm, Isa. 60, and 61, 62, 63. Matt. 20, Exodus 22, 22 v. Job. 24 to 27. Mark every day what portions you make unto. The Lord grant that you may have either strength and comfort of your faith or continuance of patience in expecting and waiting for His mercy; and be not weary in attending at his footstool—because in due time shall we receive if we faint not. For yet a very little while, and He that shall come will come and will not tarry. Above all things, pray that He would restore beauty unto the church and overthrow the religion of the Roman Antichrist in every part thereof. Observe your own special infirmities and wants, and be earnest with the Lord that He would do them away, and consume them by the power of His Spirit. Remember me also, and my brethren in bonds, that the Lord would assist us with the strength and comfort of His Spirit to keep a good conscience, and to bear a glorious testimony unto the end. Yea, be not void of hope but I may be restored again unto you by your prayers, and therefore also be earnest with him for my deliverance.

“If the Lord shall end my days in this testimony, as blessed be His name howsoever it may be, I am ready and content with His good pleasure. Keep yourself, my good Helen, here with this poor church. You may make all good refuge and stay here, as any widow else, for your outward estate. Though you could not—yet I know that you had rather dwell under

the wings of the God of Israel in poverty, with godly Ruth, than to possess kingdoms in the land of Moab; and what shift soever you make, keep our poor children with you, that you may bring them up yourself in the instruction and information of the Lord. I leave you and them, indeed, nothing in this life, but the blessing of my God; and His blessed promises, made unto me a poor wretched sinner, that my seed, my habitation, and family, should be blessed and happy upon the earth; and this, my sister, I doubt not shall be found an ample portion both for you and them; though you know that in hunger often, in cold often, in poverty and nakedness, we must make account to profess the Gospel in this life. Teach them even now, I beseech you, in their youth, that lesson indeed which was the last that I taught them in word; that is, if they will reign with Christ, they must suffer with Him. Teach them not to look for great things in this life, but every day to make account that they are to yield up their lives, and whatsoever they have, for their truth. While their affections are yet green, let them have instruction out of the word, and corrections meet for them. Yet you know, that parents must not be bitter unto their children; *especially smite not the elder wench over hard, because you know the least word will restrain her.* When they are capable of any hardy labour, I know you will not let them be idle. Let them learn, both to read and also to work. Howsoever it be with them in your care—or under the hands of others—I, their father, do here charge them, when they come to years of discretion, as they will answer at that great day of

judgment, that they join themselves with the true profession and Church of Christ, wherein now I go before them—the which charge of mine that they now keep, “I beseech you, my good wife, to put them often in mind of the same. Jer. xxv, 2—8. And what a blessing will ensue unto them if they keep it—as also what a judgment will follow if they neglect it—and withal, be careful, in case you should not be able to keep them all with you, that they are brought up with some of the church, with bread and water, rather than to be clad in gold with any, how forward soever they seem to please, that yield obedience unto the anti-christian ordinances. I know, my good Helen, that the burden which I lay upon thee of four infants, whereof the eldest is not four years old, will not seem in any way burdensome unto thee. Yea, thou shalt find that our God will be a father to the fatherless, and a stay unto the widow. If, my dear sister, you are married again after my days, choose, that first, he, with whom you marry, be of the same holy faith and profession with you. Look not so much to wealth or estimation in the world, yet rather choose many blessings than one, if you may—but only respect the fear of God and the meetness of the party. Thus—having hitherto disburdened myself of my duty towards you, and care over you and our poor children in some part—to come unto myself. I am, I thank God, of great comfort in Him, though under great trials of my weakness—not for fear of any flesh, I thank my God, but in consideration of my wants, rebellious disobedience and unthankfulness towards His majesty. But in regard of men, and in

respect of the cause of my God wherein I stand, I fear not any power or strength of man whatsoever; and I am, this hour, most willing to lay down my life for the word of my testimony, and I trust shall be unto the end." (Here follow the particulars given in page 122 of this narrative.)

"And if I be offered upon this sacrifice, I pray thee, my good Helen, that all the dispersed papers which I have written in this cause, and are yet out of the enemies' hands, may be published unto the world after my death, together with the letters which I have written in the same cause, that are of any moment; though they be imperfect, yet the enemies' mouths will be stopped by that means, and no small light given unto the cause.

"There are some of them among our brother Mr. Smithe's papers. The rest you shall know where they are. Take the direction of the church in this. If the Lord shall grant me life, myself will accomplish my purpose this way by His grace. To draw to an end, salute the whole church from me, especially those in bonds, and be you all much and heartily saluted. Let none of them be dismayed; the Lord will send a glorious issue unto Zion's troubles. Yet, you must all be prepared for sufferings, I see likelihood. Let not those which are abroad miss to frequent their holy meetings. Salute my mother and your's, in Wales; my brethren, sisters, and kindred there.

"My God knoweth, yea, yourself know, how earnestly and often I have desired that the Lord would vouchsafe my service in the Gospel amongst them, to the

saving of their souls, for ever more unto Him. Salute your parents and mine, and our kindred in Northamptonshire: with my poor kinsman, Jenkin Jones,\* and Mr. Davidd also, though I had not thought that any outward respect would have made him to withdraw his shoulders from the Lord's ways; but the Lord will draw him forward in His good time. Salute all ours in Scotland, upon the borders, and every way northward—especially Mr. Fuel, always dear unto me. Christ Jesus bless thee and you all, my beloved, even for ever and ever. Let it not be known unto any, save unto the party who shall read this unto you, that I have written at all as yet. I got means, this day, to write this much, whereof no creature living knoweth. This 6th of the fourth month of April, 1593. In great haste, with many tears, and yet in great spiritual comfort of my soul, your husband, for a season, and your beloved brother for evermore,

“JOHN PENRY,

“An unworthy witness of Christ's testament against the abominations of the Roman Antichrist and his followers—sure of the victory by the blood of the Lamb.†

“P.S. In any case, let it not be known that I have written unto you—be sure thereof. I would wish you to go to the judges for me, with your children, desiring them to consider your hard case and mine. Yea, and I would have you, if you can, go to the queen with them, beseeching her, for God's cause, to shew her wonted

\* Appendix N.      † 1 Cor. xv, 57. Rev. xii, 11.

clemency unto her subjects—with my Lord Treasurer and other of the Council whom you think—to regard your and my cries; for sure my life is sought for. I am ready—pray for me, and desire the church to pray for me, much and earnestly. The Lord comfort thee, good Helen, and strengthen thee. Be not dismayed. I know not how thou dost for outward things, but my God will provide. My love be with thee now and ever, in Christ Jesus.”

From a fragment of another letter, we learn that after he had set down his debts—what was owing by him unto others, and by others—he wrote:—

“I trust that my mother even will lay up some things for a store unto our poor children against they come to age—if they will give you and them nothing in the mean time. I will write unto them, if I can by any means, for this purpose. This is a cold and poor stay, my dear sister and wife. I leave you and my poor fatherless mess; but my God and yours, doubt you not, will provide abundantly for you and them if you serve Him, as I doubt not but you will. But, my good wife, for His name’s sake, and that with tears, take heed that neither you nor they return again into Egypt where, of the Lord’s great favour, you and I am escaped—you know what I mean. Will you, or my children, join with the corruptions that are dyed with your husband’s and father’s blood? I am not jealous of you, my good wife, but warn you and my children. Oh! it is good to stay the Lord’s leisure, and to suffer with Him. In the mean time He will surely overthrow Babel and build Zion again.\*

\* Yelverton’s MSS.

Four days after writing the letter to his wife, Penry prepared an address to his children. Many passages repeat sentiments already quoted, though not in the same terms. We give, therefore, the substance of the document, which is one of considerable length :—

“ To my DAUGHTERS when they come to years of discretion and understanding :—

“ My dear and tenderly beloved daughters:— Deliverance, comfort, safety, and sure hope. The God of Heaven, who is my God and your's, in Jesus Christ, our strong Redeemer, bless you, both bodies and souls, with the saving grace of His Spirit, even for ever and ever ; and grant, that to my eternal comfort, I may meet with you in the kingdom of heaven. Give ear now unto my counsel, which, in the name of my God, I, your father—now in bonds for the testimony of Jesus Christ—give unto you ; and be sure to keep the same, that the blessing of the Lord may be upon you for evermore.\* First, know the God of your father and serve Him even in all those duties which He requireth of you in His blessed written word.† You must search for all His commandments, and practice them all. Remember, and believe assuredly, that salvation is perfectly to be had by Jesus Christ‡ and none other. If you will be partakers of this salvation, you must assuredly believe all your sins to be forgiven you, for His sake. If you do this, oh ! blessed shall your reward

\* Exod. xx, 22 ; Eph. vi, 3. + 1 Chron. xxviii, 8, 9. † Heb. vii, 25 ; Rom. v, 9 ; Acts iv, 12.

be in the kingdom of heaven. You shall live there in all joy with Jesus Christ; His blessed angels and saints, with me also, your father in this life. Whereas, otherways, you shall never see me, to your comfort, in that blessed life, whereof your poor mother and I am, by the mercies of God, most undoubtedly assured. Nay, you shall be everlastingly cast forth from the presence of God, who is most fearful. Great troubles you are likely to see and sustain for the truth of God; but a blessed issue thereof shall you have if you continue to the end.

“The troubles shall be, as now they are, about matters which they would, by the great subtilty of Satan, account but small—yea, trifling. Such as the mingling of the sincerity of Christ’s truth, with the subverting of the same, unto the polluted institutions and ceremonies of Antichrist; and thus, as the serpent beguiled Eve with her subtilty, the minds of men, in this age, are corrupt from the simplicity that is in Christ.\* But, my daughters, take you heed of this. Have you nothing to do with the ordinances and inventions of Antichrist’s kingdom, as are retained—such as Lord Archbishops, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Canons, Prebends, Spiritual Courts, and the mingling of the clean and unclean. For these, and such like, were added, as mere inventions of Satan, unto Christ’s holy Word since the mystery of iniquity began to work.† Of such inventions, mingled with the truth, doth the Man of Sin consist. Now, my daughters, you and all others, the

\* 2 Cor. xi, 3.    † 2 Thess. ii, 7.



members of Christ, are bound not to have any fellowship with the ordinances of such abomination. \*

“If it be so that we have no lawful use of the ceremonies of Moses’ law, which were sometime the Lord’s own sacred ordinances, ordained by His faithful servant.† How, can we have any communion with the most fearful constitutions of the kingdom of Antichrist, the great enemy of Jesus Christ? No, no, my daughters. Christ Jesus, by His death, hath freed us from all legal and spiritual antichristian bondage, and He hath redeemed us to walk in His sacred ways and ordinances. I charge you, then, my beloved, to be subject unto all that holy order which Christ Jesus hath appointed for the ruling of His church and members here upon earth; for we must walk in Christ Jesus as we have received Him.‡ Now, if you suffer as you ought to suffer, either for submitting yourselves unto and labouring to enjoy those holy ways of Christ, or in refusing to be servants of corruptions, then the Lord will acknowledge you to be His before His Father and His holy presence; and happy will it be that ever I was your father on earth. Whereas, on the other side, you shall think it hard condition to suffer with Christ, and be offended at Him, then woe is me, that the doom of the wicked is provided for you.

Wherefore, again, my daughters, even my tenderly beloved daughters, regard not the world nor anything that is therein. Look only upon the durable crown of

\* Rev. xiv, 9, 10.    † Heb. iii, 2.    ‡ Col. ii, 6.

reward that lasteth for ever more, which the Lord Jesus offereth unto you, and unto all, if you suffer with them.\* I, your father, you have as a witness before you in the enduring for these six years past some part of these sufferings. Your mother hath been joyfully partaker with me of them. Ever since the Lord joined me and her together, all of you have been born in this time of your mother's testimony and mine; wherefore, I am in good hope that the Lord will give you grace to follow us, your poor parents, in that which is acceptable in His sight.

In other things, for the direction of your private lives, I refer you to your mother, who hath been a most faithful sister and comfortable yoke-fellow to me in all my trials and sufferings, and, for your comfort and mine, hath taken bitter journeys by sea and land.

Repay her, then, by your dutifulness and obedience, some part of that kindness which (one may be sure) you owe unto her. Be obedient to her in word and in deed, and miss not to be the staff of her age, who is now the only stay and support that is left unto you in your youth and infancy. I now leave four of you upon her, having nothing to speak of to leave her and you, save only that everlasting and durable fountain of the Lord's blessed providence and promises, who relieveth the fatherless and the widow.†

The eldest of you is not yet four years old, and the youngest not four months, and therefore, every way, shall you be indebted to that mother who will think

\* Rom. viii, 17.      † Ps. cxlvi, 9 v.

it no intolerable burden to bear, and take the care of you all.

“ Be willing, therefore, under her hand, to undergo any labour and travail. Be ruled, in all things, by her direction; especially in the bestowing of yourselves, if the Lord will ever grant you the favour to enter into the holy estate of matrimony. If she will place you in any service, think not honest labour too mean for you, nor wholesome diet too hard, nor clothing that may cover you and keep you warm over base for you; but bless God that He provideth you food and raiment. By reason of the iniquity of that antichristian kingdom, I could not make, as I was willing, any provision for you; yet I am assured, that my God, in whose service I am now employed against Babel and her daughters, will exceedingly provide for your mother and you; and when you shall find that the Lord doth this, according to His blessed promises made unto me, your poor father, I charge you that you profess and acknowledge this favour of His before all the world, if need so require; saying, the loving kindness of the Lord is for ever upon those that fear Him; and the truth of His promises upon His children’s children, of them that keep His commandments and remember His ordinances to do them.\* Whatsoever becometh of you in outward regard, keep yourselves in this poor church, where I leave you, or in some other holy society of the saints. I doubt not but my God will stir up many of His children to shew kindness unto my faithful sister

\* Psalm ciii, 17—18, and xxxvii, 28.

and wife, your mother; and also unto you, even for my sake. Although you should be brought up in never so hard service, yet, my dear children, learn to read, that you may be conversant, day and night, in the word of the Lord. If your mother be able to keep you together, I doubt not but you shall learn both to write and read by her means. *I have left you four Bibles, each of you one; being the sole and only patrimony or dowry that I have for you.* I beseech you, and charge you, not only to keep them, but to read in them day and night; and before you read, and also, in and after reading, be earnest in prayer and meditation, that you may understand and perform the good way of your God. Frequent the holy exercises and meetings of the saints in any case; for there is the Lord most powerful in the holy ministry of His word; and you must remember that the Lord regardeth, loveth, and blesseth the public worship more than any private exercise of religion whatsoever.\*

“Frame yourselves to be humble, lowly, meek, and patient toward all men. Reward no man evil for evil, either in word or in deed, but overcome evil with goodness; † with patience, modesty, and sobriety. Above all things, shew yourselves loving and kind unto all the saints of God; being ready to lay down your lives to do good unto the Lord’s poor church, and members here upon earth. Whatsoever you have, bestow somewhat thereof for the relief of the church. Diminish from your diet and apparel, that you may bestow the

\* Psalm lxxxvii, 2. † Rom. xii, 21.

same upon the church, and members of Christ, for the maintenance of the true worship and service of God among them. If you live in abundance, see that the true members of Christ want not. Be always partakers of the afflictions of the Gospel with them.\*

“Labour for true humility; beat down the pride which is naturally in all flesh. Give not yourselves to delight in any vanity of apparel, of words, or gesture. Ever restrain your affections sometimes, and acquaint yourselves only with those thoughts that may humble you; work a distaste of that which is earthly, and a longing desire unto the kingdom of heaven.

“Shew kindness unto the kindred whereof you are come; both of your father’s side and mother’s also; but especially, if ever you be able, shew all forwardness in doing good unto my people and kindred in the flesh.

“The Welsh nation, now for many hundred years past have been under the Lord’s rod; but I trust the time is come wherein He will shew mercy unto them, by causing the true light of the Gospel to shine among them; and, my good daughters, pray you earnestly unto the Lord—when you come to know what prayer is—for this; and be always ready to shew yourselves helpful unto the least child of that poor country, that shall stand in need of your loving support; in any case, repay the kindness, if you be able, which I owe unto my nearest kindred there; as to my mother, brethren and sisters, &c., whom I am persuaded will

be most kind towards you and your mother, unto their ability, even for my sake; *and be an especial comfort, in my stead, unto the grey hairs of my poor mother,* whom the Lord used as the only means of my stay for me in the beginning of my studies, whereby I have come unto the knowledge of that most precious faith in Christ Jesus, in the defence whereof I stand at this present in the great joy of my soul, though in much outward discomfort.

“Pray much and often for the prosperous reign and the preservation, body and soul, for her right excellent Majesty, my dread sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, under whose reign I have come unto this blessed knowledge and hope, wherein I stand. The Lord shew mercy unto her for it, both in this life and also in that great day.

“Shew yourselves helpful and kind unto all strangers, and unto the people of Scotland, where I, your mother, and a couple of you, lived as strangers, and yet were welcome, and found great kindness for the name of our God. Be tender-hearted towards the widow and the fatherless; both because the law of God and nature requireth this at your hands, and also because, for ought I know, I am likely to leave you fatherless, and your mother a widow.

“Finally, my daughters—grow in all graces of knowledge and godliness in Christ Jesus. Believe and hope firmly in that salvation which is to be had by Him. Suffer affliction with Him in this poor church. Continue in holy fear unto the end; then shall you and I

have a blessed meeting in the great day of His appearance.

“Thus have I unburdened my careful soul of some part of that great solicitude which every way I have of you, but especially of your salvation. I have written this in that scarcity of paper, ink, and time, that I could do it no otherwise than first it came into my mind, and set it down; and, therefore, it is neither so full, nor so profitable a counsel, as otherwise, upon better leisure, my God, I trust, would have enabled me to give unto you; but you may take instruction by it, I doubt not (my children), and follow it, that the blessing of God may light not only upon the posterity of Jonadab, the son of Recab, but also upon the children of John Penry, for the obedience that they have yielded unto their father’s godly commandment and counsel. Thus while the poor Church of God lieth in ashes, sitting on the ground like a widow stretching out her hand to see if there be any comfort left for her soul, and complaining the spoil of me that was left is brought unto Babel; and the Lord saith, “behold, I will plead thy cause” (Jer. li, 36); whilst I, your poor father, from the bottom of my spirit and soul, am thus ready not only to be imprisoned, but even to die for the name and truth of the Lord Jesus, which I have maintained; and while I acknowledge, with a loud and triumphant voice, that the afflictions of this present life are not worthy of the glory which shall be revealed unto us. I betake you, my dear children, and your loving mother, unto the hands of my most merciful God, and unto your most undoubted and careful Redeemer in

Jesus Christ our Lord, whom be blessed for ever and ever. Amen. Amen. Amen."

"From close prison, with many tears, and yet in much joy of the Holy Ghost, this 10th of 4th month of April, 1593, your poor father here upon earth, most careful to be joined with you for evermore in the kingdom of Jesus Christ,

"JOHN PENRY,

"A poor witness in this life unto the right of Jesus Christ, and against the abominations of the Roman Babel."\*

\* Yelverton MSS.



## VII.

"Who would force the soul, tilts with a straw  
Against a champion cased in adamant."

WORDSWORTH.

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HAVING "unburdened his careful soul," of that which pressed most deeply in his domestic relations, Penry girded himself for the single-handed struggle now before him with the judicial authorities; determined, under secret episcopal influence, first to ensnare and then to crush him. On the same day that he wrote the letter for his children, a part only of which we have given, he was brought up for examination; a month before Barrowe and Greenwood had "witnessed a good confession" at Whitehall. On that occasion, twelve of the brethren sat together as prisoners in the ante-room, but were not suffered to speak a word to

each other. They were called singly into the chamber of the Lord Chancellor, and there met the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, in their robes, with other members of the High Commission ; Justice Young and Dr. Some sitting at the lower end of the table. Barrowe, on his entrance, was required to kneel\* down and answer the questions put to him by the Court. The examination of Penry seems to have been less formal. To understand and appreciate his answers, we must consider the difficulty of his position. It was not like that of Luther at the Diet of Worms. He had no earthly protection, and no friend was present to cheer by silent sympathy, or to offer any useful suggestion.

To adopt his own words, he knew that " his blood was laid for." He was mainly concerned to vindicate the truth for which he was about to suffer. The principle for which he contended, as we have seen, was this :—" That the Church of Christ should be governed only by the laws of its Divine Founder." He had come to the fixed and settled conclusion that the offices derived from the Romish hierarchy, were unscriptural, and, as such, antichristian ; that is, contrary to the will of Christ distinctly revealed. With the truth or incorrectness of this sentiment, we are not now so much concerned as to show the ground taken by the confessor, and the spirit in which he maintained his position. We have abundant evidence that his conviction was real and fully matured. It was the result of spiritual exercises through which he had past for

\* A Tractarian bishop exacted this form of submission, on the part of a clergyman in his diocese, not long ago.

several years. In obedience to it, he had severed himself from old and dear friends, though not violently, nor in the spirit of unkindness. For the sake of it, he had given up home and become a fugitive; and now, covered with reproach, torn from the wife of his bosom, and deprived of the sight of his infant children, he was expecting martyrdom in the most odious form—the death of a felon on the gallows. With the sentiment of loyalty amounting in its strength to a passion, he was dealt with as a traitor. Yet he went forward in his course. The truth, for which he endured these things, had become part and parcel of himself; and with it he could scarcely believe that he had an existence at all.

There he stands!—his countenance is pale, and a sympathetic eye might observe the traces of the tears which flowed while writing the long letter in secret, the ink of which is scarcely dry.

Toil and imprisonment have affected his delicate frame, yet his eye retains its lustre; and, as Justice Young meets its piercing glance, you may notice that he betrays uneasiness, like that which he felt when he saw the coffin of Roger Rippon at his door.

Mr. FANSHAW then is left to open the proceedings:

“It is strange unto me,” so his worship begins, “that you hold such opinions, Penry, as none of the learned of this age, or any of the martyrs of former times, maintained. Can you shew any writers, either old or new, that have been of your judgment?”

*Penry.*—“I hold nothing but what I will be bound to prove out of the written Word of God; and will

shew, in regard of the special points controverted, to have been maintained by the holy martyrs of this land, who first assailed the Babylonish Roman kingdom; as, namely, by Mr. Wiclif, Mr. Brute, Mr. Purvey, Mr. White, &c.; with many other famous witnesses and martyrs of Christ in former times; and by Mr. Tindal, Mr. Lambert, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Latimer, &c., the Lord's most blessed witnesses of this latter age. I speak nothing here of the doctrine and practice of the reformed churches in other countries, whom I have wholly of my side, in the controversies of greatest moment."

*Fanshaw*.—"But do the martyrs teach you there is no Church of Christ in England?"

*Penry*.—"If you mean, by a church (as the most do), that public profession whereby men do profess salvation to be had by the death and righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am far from denying any Church of Christ to be in this land; for I know the doctrine touching the Holy Trinity, the natures and offices of the Lord Jesus, free justification by Him, both the sacraments, &c., published by her Majesty's authority, and commanded by her laws to be the Lord's blessed and undoubted truths; without the knowledge and profession whereof no salvation is to be had."

*Fanshaw*.—"Seeing you acknowledge that her Majesty hath established the truth in so many weighty points—seeing she hath commanded the true sacraments to be administered—what mislike you in our church? and why will you not be partaker of these truths and sacraments with us?"

*Penry.*—"I mislike—1. The false ecclesiastical offices. 2. The manner of calling into her offices. 3. A great part of the works wherein these false officers are employed. 4. The maintenance, or livings, whereby they are maintained in their offices ; all which I will be bound to prove (by the Lord's help) to be derived not from Jesus Christ, but from the kingdom of Antichrist, His great enemy ; and, therefore, for as much as I cannot be partaker of the former holy things of God, but I must be subject unto the power of Antichrist in these officers, and known by those marks whereby his subjects are noted ; therefore, I am enforced and bound to seek the comfort of the Word and Sacraments, where I may have them, without the submitting of myself unto any ecclesiastical power in religion—save only unto that which is derived from Christ Jesus, the Lord, in whom all fulness of power dwelleth (Col. i, 19) ; and from whom all those must derive their power and office ; unto whom the saints of God are to submit their consciences to be wrought upon in religion. Again, seeing the fore-named four enormities of this church are marks which properly belong unto the kingdom of the beast—viz., of the Roman Antichrist—we dare not have any communion and fellowship with them, nor be known by them, lest we should be partakers of those most fearful and most dreadful judgments which are denounced by the Spirit of God against all those that have any communion with any of the inventions of that beast. (Rev. xiv, 9—10). These are the things, together with the want of Christ's true order, which I especially mislike ; and

the special causes why I dare not join with the assemblies of this land."

*Fanshaw.*—"What offices mean you?"

*Penry.*—"I mean the offices of Lord Archbishops and Bishops, Arch-deacons, Commissaries, Chancellors, Deans, Canons, Prebendaries, Priests, Deacons, &c.; all which properly belong to no other body, either ecclesiastical or civil, but only unto the Romish church, where they were first invented, where they now are, and by whom they were left in this land when the head of that body, the Pope, and some other of his members, were cast out by her Majesty and our sovereign lord her noble father. The Church of Christ is perfect without them, in all her offices; the civil state is absolute without them, for they are ecclesiastical. Heathen idolatry hath them not, and requireth them not; only the kingdom of Antichrist can in no wise be whole and entire without them, whereof (as I say), they are visible and known members."

*Fanshaw.*—"Be like, you would have no other offices in the church, now in the time of peace and prosperity, than were in the Apostles' days under persecution?"

*Penry.*—"There is great reason we should not; for if the order left by Moses in the church was not to be altered, to be diminished, or added unto, except it were by special commandment from the Lord (1 Chron. xxviii, 19.) then may not any man or angel, but upon the same warrant, add anything unto that holy form which the Son of God left for the ordering of his own house? He that addeth unto the words of this book—that is, to the true order of the church, and pure worship of

God contained therein—the Lord God will add unto him of the plagues that are written in this book, saith the Spirit of God.” Rev. xxii, 19.

*Fanshaw*.—“ You allow of Mr. Luther, I am sure. Of what office had he ? ”

*Penry*.—“ He was first a monk, and so a member (by his office) of the kingdom of Antichrist, even a good while after the Lord had used him as a notable instrument to overthrow that kingdom; afterward, he was utterly disgraced and deprived of all offices; so that, as the Spirit of God saith (Rev. xiii., 17.), he could neither buy nor sell by virtue of any liberty or freedom that he had within the kingdom of the beast. And by this means, in the Lord’s great favour, he carried not, in this regard, any of the beast’s marks; he was not of his name, nor of the number of his name; he denied himself to belong to that kingdom of Satans; and that malignant church utterly refused him to be any of her body and members. Since his excommunication and degradation by the Romish church, he nameth himself Ecclesiastion, in a book of his so entitled; that is, a preacher of Christ’s blessed truth and Gospel.

“ Now, whether he preached by virtue of a lawful office, whereunto he was called in the Church of Christ, or whether he taught by virtue of his gifts, and the opportunity which he had to manifest the truth, having neither time nor leisure, nor yet thinking it needful (it may be) to consider by what office he did it, I know not; of this, I am assured; that he was one of the famous and glorious witnesses of the Lord Jesus;

raised up to testify on His behalf, against the abominations of the kingdom of Antichrist; and I am assured, that by his tongue and pen, the Lord appeared gloriously in the power of His Gospel, to the consummation of that Man of Sin. (2 Thess. ii, 8.) Of his office, I judge the best as of a matter unknown unto me; that is, I think him to have had a pastoral office in the Church of Wittenburg. Whether he has or not, his example is no law for the church to walk by; it is Christ Jesus alone that we must hear and follow; according to His will and word must we frame our walking; and if it be an angel from heaven, that will draw us to swerve from the same, we dare not give ear unto him." Gal. i, 8—9.

*Fanshaw.*—"And what office had you in your church, which meet in woods and I know not where?"

*Penry.*—"I have no office in that poor congregation; and as for our meetings in woods, or anywhere else, we have the example of our Saviour Christ, and of His church and servants in all ages, for our warrant. It is against our wills that we go into woods, or secret places; as we are not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, so our desire is to profess the same openly; we are ready, before men and angels, to shew and justify our meetings, and our behaviour in them, desiring earnestly that we may have peace and quietness to serve our God, even before all men, that they may be witnesses of our upright walking towards our God and all the world, especially towards our prince and country. We know that meeting in woods, in caves, in mountains, &c., is a part of the cross and baseness of the Gospel;



whereas it is easy for the natural man to stumble; but we are gladly partakers of this mean estate for the Lord's sacred verity; and the question should not be so much, where we meet, as what we do in our meeting? whether our meetings and doings be warranted by the Word or not, and what enforced us to meet in these places?"

*Fanshaw.*—"Did you not preach, in these your secret meetings? What warrant have you so to do, if you have no public office in your church?"

*Penry.*—"Whether I did or not, I do not tell you for the present; but this I say, that if the same poor congregation desired to have the use of my small gifts for the instruction and consolation thereof, I would, being thereunto prepared, most willingly bestow my poor talent in their mutual edification and mine."

*Fanshaw.*—"And may you teach in the church publicly, having no public office therein?"

*Penry.*—"I may, because I am a member thereof, and requested thereunto by the church; and judged to be endued, in some measure, with gifts meet for the handling of the Lord's sacred Word. The body of Christ (that is, every particular congregation of the church) ought to have the use of all the gifts that are in any member thereof; and the member cannot deny unto the body the use of those graces wherewith it is furnished, except it will break the laws and order of the body, and become unnatural unto the same." (Rom. xii. 1 Cor. xii.)

*Fanshaw.*—"Then, every one, that will, may preach the Word in your assembly?"

*Penry.*—"Not so; for we hold it merely unlawful—yea, tending to the anabaptistical\* inversion of all good order in the church—for any man to intermeddle with the Lord's holy truth beyond the bounds of his gifts; or yet for him that is endued with gifts to preach or teach in the church, except he be desired, and called thereunto by the body."

*Fanshaw.*—"But may any man preach that hath not an office in the church so to do?"

*Penry.*—"Yea, that he may; and the Word of God bindeth him to preach, whosoever he be, that intendeth to become a pastor or teacher in the Church of Christ, before he take his office upon him; and bindeth the church to take the trial of his gifts, before they give him his office; lest, otherwise, he should not be meet for it; or, at the least, that hands should not be suddenly laid upon him. (1 Tim., iii, 10, and v, 22.)

*Fanshaw.*—"What office hath he all this while?"

*Penry.*—"No other office than every member of the body hath, who are bound to have their several operations in the body, according to that measure of grace which they derive from their Head, the Lord Jesus, by the power of His Spirit working in them. (Rom. xii, 3—4.) The Word calleth these by the name of prophets; not such as do foretel things to come, but those who are furnished with graces meet for the interpretation and application of the Word unto the edification and comfort of the church; as the Apostle teacheth us expressly in 1 Cor. xiv; and, therefore, mistake not the word prophet, or prophesy, as

\* Penry was no Anabaptist.

though we leaned unto any inward revelations or motions besides the written Word."

*Fanshaw.*—"I know well enough what you mean, and will not mistake your word, for the Scripture useth them in that sense."

*Penry.*—"Now, it should be no new thing unto you, to hear that they may preach who have no office in the church, seeing this is so common a thing in the colleges and universities of this land."

*Fanshaw.*—"Yea, that is in the schools."

*Penry.*—"If that exercise, whereof you and I mean I am sure, be in your confession warrantable in the schools and colleges, it is much more in the church and congregation; for the Lord in His Word hath set down the rules how the church, and the assemblies of His saints, should have the use and exercise of His holy Word; and not that it should be brought to human schools; whither it never came into the Lord's mind to command that ever it should enter. Let the arts, tongues, and other human knowledge, be taught in schools; and let the holy truth and exercises of religion be derived from the Church of Christ, which the Apostle, for this purpose, calleth the pillar and ground of truth."

*Fanshaw.*—"You labour to draw her Majesty's subjects from their obedience unto her laws, and from this Church of England, to hear you, and such as you are, teaching in woods."

*Penry.*—"Nay, I persuade all men unto obedience of my prince and her laws; only, I dissuade all the world from yielding obedience and submission unto the ordinances of the kingdom of Antichrist; and would

persuade them to be subject to Christ Jesus and His blessed laws: and I know this enterprise to be so far from being repugnant unto her Majesty's laws, as I assure myself that the same is warranted thereby. Her Majesty hath granted, in establishing and confirming the GREAT CHARTER OF ENGLAND (whereunto, as I take it, the kings and queens of this land are sworn when they come to the crown), that the CHURCH OF GOD, UNDER HER, SHOULD HAVE ALL HER RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES INVIOLEABLE FOR EVER. Let the benefit of this law be granted unto me, and others of my brethren, and it shall be found that we have done nothing but what is warrantable by her laws."

*Fanshaw.*—"What! is it meet that subjects should charge their princes to keep covenant with them, and enter to scan what oaths they have taken for this purpose? Where find you this warranted by Scripture?"

*Penry.*—"The subjects are in a most lamentable case, if they may not alledge their prince's laws for their actions; yea, and shew what their princes have promised unto the Lord and to them, when the same may be for declaration of their innocency; and it is the crown and honour of princes, to be known not only to hold but even to be in covenant with their subjects, that they will maintain and preserve them from violence and wrong: nay, heathen princes have thought themselves honoured when their mean subjects have charged them very earnestly with the covenants whereby they were bound unto their people. The laws of this land are so full this way, as no man, conversant in them, can be ignorant that our princes have preferred the observing

of those equal covenants, whereby they are tied unto their people, before the accomplishing of their own private affections; yea, and commandments in some cases. Hence it is, that the judges of this land are bound, by law, to administer justice and equity unto the poor subjects, notwithstanding the prince's letters be directed to the contrary. And as to the law of God, all kings and princes are bound thereby to be so far from thinking themselves tied by no bands unto their subjects, as they are plainly forbidden even to be lifted up in mind above their brethren (Deut. xvii, 20); for so the Word, in that place, calleth their subjects and servants. The kings of Judah, who had the greatest privileges and prerogative, both ecclesiastical and civil, over the people, that ever any kings or princes can have, because they were types and figures of that great King of Kings, the Lord Jesus, entered into covenant, notwithstanding, with their people, even particularly, besides the general former law, whereby they were bound unto them. Yea, the prophet Jeremiah, being in no less danger and disgrace with all estates than I and my brethren are at this present, required his sovereign lord and king, Zedekiah, to promise that he would do him no violence and wrong, nor yet suffer others to do the same, for telling him the truth of the Word, in the things wherein the king required to be resolved at his hands; the which thing Zedekiah yielded unto, and that by an oath and covenant of the Lord. (Jer. xxxviii, 15—16.) Whereby it appeareth, that it is not without great warrant of the Word that princes should enter in covenant with their

subjects, and that subjects should require promise and oath to be kept with them; otherwise whereto serveth the covenant? But, alas! I enter not to scan her Majesty's oath. I only tell you what her laws allow me and my poor brethren; and I am assured, if her Majesty knew the equity and uprightness of our cause, we should not receive this hard measure which we now sustain. We and our cause are never brought before her, but in the odious weeds of sedition, rebellion, schism, heresy, &c.; and, therefore, it is no marvel to see the edge of her sword turned against us."

*Fanshaw*.—"Hath not her Majesty, by her laws, established these offices and this order that is now in the Church of England?"

*Penry*.—"Her laws have, I grant, of oversight, as taking them for the right offices and order which appertain unto the Church of Christ; the which, because we evidently see that they are not, therefore fly we unto her former promise and act, whereby she granteth the enjoying of all the privileges of the Church of Christ."

*Fanshaw*.—"Why then go ye about to pull down bishops?"

*Penry*.—"Alas! far be it from us, that ever we should intend any such actions. We only put her Majesty and the State in mind of the wrath of God that is likely to come upon this land, for the upholding of many Romish inventions. We labour to save our own souls, and all those that will be warned by us, in avoiding all corruptions in religion, and practising the whole will of God as near as we can; further than this, we have no calling to go; and, therefore, dare not

so much as once, in thought, conceive of anything that we should do in the altering or pulling down of anything established by her laws."

*Fanshaw.*—"Why then meet you in woods, and such suspicious and secret places, if you purpose no insurrection for the pulling down of bishops?"

*Penry.*—"I have told you the reason before: our meetings are for the pure and true worship of God; and there is not so much as a word or thought of bishops in our assemblies, except it be in praying for them, that the Lord would shew mercy and favour unto them, which we wish as to our own souls. Our meetings are secret, as I told you, because we cannot, without disturbance, have them more open. Our earnest desire and prayer unto our God and our governors is, that we might have them open; and not be enforced to withdraw ourselves from the sight of any creature. Of the Lord's pure worship, in the congregation of his people, are we bound to be partakers; and that in woods, in mountains, in caves, &c., as I told you, rather than not at all."

*Fanshaw.*—"Then you are privy unto no practice or intent of any sedition or commotion against her Majesty and the State, for the pulling down of bishops?"

*Penry.*—"No, I thank God, nor ever was; and I protest before heaven and earth, that if I were, I would disclose and withstand the same to the utmost of my ability, in all persons, of what religion soever they were."

(Mr. YOUNG is now impatient to join in the colloquy.)

*Young.*—"But what meant you, Penry, when you told me at my house, that I should live to see the day wherein there should not be a Lord Bishop left in England?"

*Penry.*—"You do me great injury, sir, but I am content to bear it. This was it, that I said unto you—namely, that I gainsaid nothing in this whole cause but what I could prove out of the Word of God to be the Popish antichristian kingdom; which religion, I said, the Lord hath promised utterly to overthrow and consume; insomuch, as you (said I) may live, though you be already of great years (for myself, I may be cut off by untimely death), to see all the offices, callings, works, and livings, derived from, or belonging at any time unto, the kingdom of Antichrist, utterly overthrown in this land. For the Lord hath promised, that that Man of Sin—that body of the antichristian religion—shall be so consumed by the breath of His mouth, and the brightness of His appearing in the power of His gospel before his second coming (II Thess. ii.,) as that false synagogue shall have no power, in any of her offices or parts, either to be lifted up over the truth and saints of God. This I showed you from Isa. xiii, 19—20; Jer. l, 40, and li, 60—64; and Rev. xviii.\* And so it will be accomplished, I am sure. This was my speech unto you, Mr. Young; and I beseech you, yea, I charge you, as you shall answer in that great day, not to misreport my speeches, but to relate them as they are uttered by me."

\* Quoted in full by Penry.



*Young.*—"I conceived some great matter of your speech, I tell you."

*Penry.*—"You did me the greater wrong therein; I pray you hereafter, conceive of my words according to my meaning, and their natural signification."

*Fanshaw.*—"You say that these offices and livings, derived, in your conceit, from the body of Antichrist, shall be overthrown by the Lord; we would know how you mean this will be accomplished?"

*Penry.*—"I have already shewed you, that this work shall be done by the appearing of Jesus Christ, in the shining brightness of His Gospel—through the efficacy whereof, the Lord shall so lay them open as He will put into the hearts of princes and states, wherein they are now maintained, to abolish their offices, callings, and works, utterly from among men; and to employ their livings unto the holy, civil uses of the princes and states wherein they are. After this sort did the Lord consume the Pope's primacy, office, and maintenance, which he had in this land; and after this, or some other way seeming best to His wisdom, shall He (I doubt not) consume the rest of that body of iniquity now remaining wheresoever. The work, I am assured, shall be accomplished, because the Lord hath said it in His written Word: the manner how, or the time when, it shall be performed, I leave to Him who ruleth all things according to the counsel of His own will; and whose ways and judgments are past finding out."

*Fanshaw and Young.*—"What you do, or purpose to do, in these, your assemblies, we cannot tell; but this is sure, that the papists seem to be so encouraged by

this dealing of yours, that there were never so many of them in this land, since her Majesty's reign, as are at this present; and they, themselves, say, that your separating from us is a great stumbling block unto them, whereby, also, they take occasion to do the like.

*Penry.*—"What we do in our meetings, and what our purposes are, I have told you simply as in the presence of the Lord; and we are ready, by the grace of God, to approve our actions and purposes to be in all good conscience both towards the Lord and our prince, and toward all men; if the number of the idolatrous, ignorant papists be increased, it is no wonderful case, by reason of the small teaching that the poor people of the land have; and their increase is in the just judgment of God—in that so many remnants of popery are left unbanished in the land; but especially because these baits are retained here, whereby the Pope is continually drawn to send over his Jesuits and seminaries; whereby, also, they are most easily and willingly induced to come and pervert her Majesty's subjects from their obedience unto the Lord and His lieutenant; and to betray their native prince and country into the hands of the aliens and strangers."

*Fanshaw.*—"What are those baits that you mean?"

*Penry.*—"I mean the former popish offices and their livings—whereof I speak—as the offices and livings of Archbishops, Lord Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, Priests, &c., the continuance whereof, and of the popish corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the Pope and his sworn subjects in daily hope of replanting the throne of iniquity again in this land—whereof I trust

in the Lord that they shall be utterly disappointed. If these offices and livings were once removed (the devised works and callings would fall with them), the Pope and his traffickers would be utterly void of all hope to set up the standard of the Man of Sin again in this noble kingdom; here being not so much as an office, or one penny of maintenance left for any of his members. The Jesuits and priests would have no allurements to make them rebels against their prince; and the other seduced papists, at home, would easily forget their idolatry; there being here neither office nor any other monument of that antichristian religion left, to put them in mind of that Babel; and so, the Lord would accomplish that which the Apostle saith shall be fulfilled even to the utter consuming of the Man of Sin in this land. (2 Thess. ii.) And, therefore, the retaining of these offices and livings, are not only joined with great dishonour of God, and the offence of His saints, but turned, in the just judgment of the Lord, to be a snare of the peace of this noble kingdom; yea, and of the prosperity and welfare of her Majesty's most royal person—whom the Lord bless, body and soul, from all dangers, both at home and abroad—as it is well known, by our many popish treacheries intended against her. I marvel not that the papists dislike our separation; and you may be assured, that if they knew what may bring us into danger or discredit—as with her Majesty—with any of our superiors, the honourable and worshipful magistrates, under her Highness, or any else of our countrymen, they will be sure to utter the same,

though it were in their own consciences never so untrue. For they know that, of all men under heaven, we are the greatest enemies unto their religion. We leave the same neither branch nor root; but would have all the world to be as clear of that spiritual contagion as it was the same day wherein the Lord Jesus went up on high and led captivity captive. Their reason of their separation, drawn from our example, is like their religion. We dare not join with the assemblies of the land, notwithstanding that we know many of the truths of Jesus Christ to be professed therein; because in the offices, and many of the works remaining in them, we should have communion with the religion of the Roman Antichrist in many of the works and inventions thereof. They, on the other side, will not join with the public worship of the land, because, thereby, they should have overmuch communion with the doctrine of Christ, and over little with the poisoned inventions, ordained by Satan, in the Romish synagogue; and who moved them to their treason and disobedience before we took this course."

*Fanshaw.*—"But why refuse you conference, that you may be reformed in those things wherein you err?"

*Penry.*—"I refuse none, I am most willing readily to yield unto any, as Mr. Young hath it to testify under my hand; only, my desire and request is, that I may have some equal conditions granted unto me, and my poor brethren in it, the which, yet if I cannot obtain, I am ready to yield unto any conference though never so unequal. Yea, I am desirous of any conference that her Majesty and their honours may be truly

informed of;\* that which I and my brethren do hold, and of the warrant that we have thereof from the Word of the Lord. Only I crave, that my judgment, my reasons, my answers, may be reported in my own words, and hereof I beseech your worships to bear witness with me. Lastly, I beseech you to consider that it is to no purpose that her Majesty's subjects should bestow their time in learning; in the study and meditation of the Word of God; in the reading of the writings and doings of the learned men and holy martyrs that have been in former ages, especially the writings published by her Majesty's authority; if they may not, without danger, profess and hold those truths which they learn out of them; and, that in such sort as they are able, to convince all the world who stand against them by no other weapon than by the Word of God. Consider also, I pray you, what a lamentable case it is, that we may join with the Romish church in the inventions thereof, without all danger, and cannot, but with extreme peril, be permitted in judgment and practice to dissent from the same, when it swerveth from the true way. And as you find these considerations to carry some weight with them, so I beseech you to be a means unto her Majesty and their honours, that my case may be weighed in even balance. Imprisonments, indictments, yea, death itself, are no meet weapons to convince men's consciences."

At the close of the examination, Penry submitted a paper† to the justices, containing the profession of his

allegiance and the articles of his doctrinal belief; some angularities of expression no doubt it contained, which the discussion and experience of subsequent times might have led him to avoid; but, taken as a whole, the document is admirable, and especially when we consider the peculiar disadvantages under which it was written. It is satisfactory to find, that notwithstanding his conscientious and most decided objection to the episcopal system, he yet had charity enough to admit, with cordiality, the existence of sincere Christian believers in the church, the dignitaries of which were at the time conspiring to take his life. One thing is also clear; that whatever may be thought of his creed, its practical influence was in the highest degree sustaining. He felt that he had to do with Him who inhabiteth eternity; whose purposes embrace all times and all events. Elevated to the enjoyment of privileges that made him superior to all the blandishments of sense, and to despise the pomp of kings, he yet was conscious of the deepest unworthiness, and felt the pressure of obligation that would have been insupportable from its extent, but that he was constrained by love of corresponding intensity, and animated by hope that nothing could depress.

He knew that his efforts for the advancement of the cause he loved so well were crippled in the last degree. With difficulty, and by stealth only, could he secure pen and paper, and a place in which to write. He feared, even, to involve his faithful wife in trouble by leaving the letter in her possession; and directed, that for the present, it should only be read to her. He

saw that all the powers, civil and ecclesiastical, were directed to destroy the infant church. Yet he endured, as seeing Him who is invisible; and, with prophetic certainty, he could anticipate the triumph of the truth now so bitterly opposed.

It was this, and only this, that gave him self possession when before the justices, and to retire with a dignity and the sense of moral triumph to which they were strangers.

## VIII.

Glory to God for ever !  
Beyond the d- spot's will  
The soul of freedom liveth,  
Imperishable still.  
The words that thou hast uttered,  
Are of that soul a part;  
And the good seed that thou hast scattered,  
Is springing from the heart.

WHITTIER,

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PENRY returned to his cell exhausted in body, but feeling, in mind, a certain relief and grateful satisfaction. The accommodations of the gaol were wretched to an extent that cannot be described; and its inmates were subjected to all the evils arising from want of air, and the offensive effluvia of the wards. A petition, half obliterated, yet sufficiently legible, remains to show what must have been the misery of the inmates from the causes just mentioned.

But Penry was too absorbed in the work still requiring his attention to complain. A few more steps, and he should be within the mansions of his



Father's house ; meanwhile, he owed a sacred duty to the church, and he seized the opportunity for its fulfilment. It will be remembered, that in his hasty visit to the country on the capture of Greenwood, he stayed at Derby—there he was not far distant from the homes of faithful brethren who met, as did the church in Southwark sometime before, without a pastor. He thought anxiously about them, and spent hours in prayer to God for them, and for the beloved members of the society who might pass the prison doors and sigh for their devoted friend, but who could seldom send a message of comfort or of sympathy.

It is remarkable that some of the finest passages of Christian eloquence have been written in the dungeon, on the floor, and by the faint light that streamed on the prisoner of Jesus Christ through the grating or the chinks in the wall.

Of the inspired epistles, those are the most animating and sublime that were written by Paul, the aged, when in bonds. The days were becoming longer when Penry entered on the last month of his imprisonment and of his life. It was spring; and though he should no more behold its opening beauties, the light that shone upon them was precious to him, as it enabled him to communicate his thoughts to those who were absent in body but present in spirit, and most dear—his kindred in Christ.

The following letter, often quoted in part, was the product of his solitary hours. It was written under the impression that the fatal sentence had been carried into execution in the case of his beloved brethren Barrowe and Greenwood.

“To the distressed faithful congregation of Christ, in London, and all the members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty—these be delivered:—

“My beloved brethren M. F. Johnson, Mr. D. S., M. S., M. S., M. G., I. M., I. M., H. M., B. M., P. R., B. M., R. M., R. U., B. M., B. I., M. N., P. W. C., P. A. My brethren M. I., C. W., B. A., P. M., M. M., E., C. C., D. G., M. A. B., with the rest of you, both men and women (as if particularly I name you all), which stand members of this poor afflicted congregation, whether at liberty or in bonds; Jesus Christ, that great King and Prince of the kings of the earth, bless you; comfort you with His invincible Spirit, that you may be able to bear and overcome these great trials which you are yet (and I with you, if I live) to undergo for His name's sake, in this testimony.

“Beloved! let us think our lot and portion more than blessed, that are now vouchsafed the favour, not only to know and to profess, but also to suffer for the sincerity of the Gospel: and let us remember that great is our reward in Heaven, if we endure unto the end.

“I testify unto you for mine own part, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and his elect angels, that I never saw any truth more clear and undoubted than this witness wherein we stand:—1. Against false offices. 2. The callings. 3. The works. 4. The maintenance left and retained in this land by and from popery. 5. Against the obedience which spiritually, either in soul or in the body, is yielded; and the communion that

is had with these inventions of darkness. 6. The mingling of all sorts in these assemblies. 7. The worship done, but scant in one of the three parts of the commission given by our Saviour—scant done, I say, in one of the three parts of the commission, by the best teachers of this land; and I thank my God I am not only ready to be bound and banished, but even to die in this cause by His strength. Yea, my brethren, I greatly long, in regard of myself, to be dissolved, and to live in the blessed kingdom of Heaven with Jesus Christ and his angels; with Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Job, David, Jeremy, Daniel, Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles; and with the rest of the holy saints, both men and women; with the glorious kings, prophets, and martyrs, and witnesses of Jesus Christ, that have been from the beginning of the world; particularly with my two dear brethren, master Henry Barrowe, and master John Greenwood, which have, last of all, yielded their blood for this precious testimony. Confessing unto you, my brethren and sisters, that if I might live upon this earth the days of Mathuselah twice told, and that in no less comfort than Peter, James, and John were, in the Mount; and, after this life, might be sure of the kingdom of Heaven; that yet, to gain all this, I durst not go from the former testimony.

“Wherefore, my brethren, I beseech you be of like mind herein with me. I doubt not but you have the same precious faith with me, and are partakers also of far more glorious comfort than my barren and sinful soul can be. Strive for me, and with me, that the Lord

our God may make me and us all able to end our course with joy and patience: strive, also, that He may stay His blessed hand (if it be His good pleasure), and not make any further breach in His church, by the taking away of any more of us as yet, to the discouraging of the weak, and the lifting up of the horn of our adversaries.

“I would, indeed, if it be His good pleasure, live yet with you, to help you to bear that grievous and hard yoke which yet ye are like to sustain, either here or in a strange land.

“And my good brethren, seeing banishment with loss of goods is likely to betide you all, prepare yourselves for this hard entreaty, and rejoice that you are made worthy for Christ’s cause, to suffer and bear all these things. And I beseech you, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that none of you in this case look upon his particular estate, but regard the general state of the Church of God; that the same may go and be kept together withersoever it shall please God to send you. Oh! the blessing will be great that shall ensure this care. Whereas, if you go, every man to provide for his own house, and to look for his own family—first neglecting poor Zion—the Lord will set his face against you, and scatter you from the one end of Heaven to the other; neither shall you find a resting place for the soles of your feet, or a blessing upon anything you take in hand!

“The Lord, my brethren and sisters, hath not forgotten to be gracious unto Zion. You shall yet find days of peace and of rest, if you continue faithful. This stamping

and treading of us under His feet, this subverting of our cause and right in judgment, is done by Him, to the end that we should search and try our ways, and repent us of our carelessness, profaneness, and rebellion in His sight; but He will yet maintain the cause of our souls, and redeem our lives, if we return to Him. Yea, he will be with us in fire and water, and will not forsake us, if our hearts be only intent on serving Him, and especially of the building of Sion, whithersoever we go.

“Let not those of you, then, that either have stocks in your hands, or some likely trades to live by, dispose of yourselves where it may be most commodious for your outward estate, and in the meantime suffer the poor ones, that have no such means, either to bear the whole work upon their weak shoulders, or to end their days in sorrow and mourning for want of outward and inward comforts in the land of strangers; for the Lord will be an avenger of all such dealings. *But consult with the whole church, yea, with the brethren of other places, how the church may be kept together, and built, whithersoever they go.* Let not the poor and the friendless be forced to stay behind here, and to break a good conscience for want of your support and kindness unto them, that they may go with you.

“And here, I humbly beseech you—not in any outward regard, as I shall answer before my God—that you would take my poor and desolate widow, and my mess of fatherless and friendless orphans, with you into exile, whithersoever you go; and you shall find, I doubt not, that the blessed promises of my God, made

unto me and mine, will accompany them, and even the whole church, for their sakes. For this, also, is the Lord's promise unto the holy seed ; as you shall not need much to demand what they shall eat, or wherewith they shall be clothed ; and, in short time, I doubt not but that they will be found helpful, and not burthensome to the church. Only, I beseech you, let them not continue after you in this land, where they must be enforced to go again into Egypt ; and my God will bless you, even with a joyful return unto your own country, for it. There are of you, who, I doubt not, will be careful of the performance of the will of your dead brother in this point, who may yet live to shew this kindness unto yours—I will say no more.

“ Be kind, loving, and tender-hearted, the one of you towards the other ; labour every way to increase love, and to shew the duties of love, one of you towards another, by visiting, comforting, and relieving, one the other—even for the reproach of the heathen that are round about us (as the Lord saith). Be watching in prayer : especially remember those of our brethren that are especially endangered ; particularly those—our two brethren, Mr. Studley and Robert Bowl—whom our God hath strengthened now to stand in the forefront of the battle.

“ I fear methat our carelessness was over great to sue unto our God for the lives of these two so notable lights of His church—who now rest with him—and that He took them away for many respects seeming good to His wisdom ; so, also, that we might be careful in prayer in all such causes. Pray for them,

my brethren, and for our brother, Mr. Fran. Johnson ; and for me, who am likely to end my days, either with them or before them, that our God may spare us unto His church, if it be His good pleasure ; or give us exceeding faithfulness ; and be every way comfortable unto the sister and wife of the dead ; I mean unto my beloved M. Barrowe and M. Greenwood, whom I most heartily salute and desire much to be comforted in their God, who, by his blessings from above, will countervail unto them the want of so notable a brother and husband.

*“I would wish you earnestly to write ; yea, to send, if you may, to comfort the brethren in the West and North countries, that they faint not in these troubles—and that also you may have of their advice, and they of your’s, what to do in these desolate times ; and, if you think it anything for their further comfort and direction, send them conveniently a copy of this my letter—and of the declaration of my faith and allegiance—wishing them, before whomsoever they be called, that their own mouths be not had in witness against them in anything ; YEA, I WOULD WISH YOU AND THEM TO BE TOGETHER, if you may, whithersoever you shall be BANISHED ; and to this purpose, to bethink you, beforehand, where to be ; yea, to send some who may be meet to prepare you some resting place ; and be all of you assured, that HE, WHO IS YOUR GOD IN ENGLAND, WILL BE YOUR GOD IN ANY LAND UNDER THE WHOLE HEAVEN ; for the earth and the fulness thereof are His, and blessed are they that, for His cause, are bereaved of any part of the same.*

“ Finally, my brethren, the eternal God bless you and your’s, that I may meet with you all, unto my comfort in the blessed kingdom of Heaven. Thus having from my heart—and with tears—performed (it may be) my last duty towards you in this life, I salute you all in the Lord, both men and women, even those who I have not named, as heartily as those whose names I have mentioned ; (for all your names I know not). And remember to stand steadfast and faithful in Jesus Christ, as you have received Him, unto your immortality ; and may He confirm and establish you to the end for the praise of His glory. Amen.

“ The twenty-fourth of the fourth month April, 1593.

“ Your loving brother, in the patience and suffering of the Gospel,

“ JOHN PENRY,

“ A witness of Christ in this life, and a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed.”



## IX.

Truth's victories are slow. Those who begin  
The glorious battle in her dear behalf  
Die off—despairing some, and hapless all ;  
And leave the harsh inheritance of strife  
To those who love them, to times remote—  
The dearly bought and tardy paced success.  
They sow, but reap not—nor their sons, nor grandsons.  
But strangers to them garnish up their fruits  
Oft-times—not knowing, even, the saintly names  
Of those who struggled for a thankless world.

MACKAY.

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It may be readily believed, that the officers of the crown had considerable difficulty to secure a conviction, on any plausible grounds, against Penry, for sedition. From the secrecy of Mr. Crane's funeral\*—and the private manner in which Barrowe and Greenwood were finally put to death—it is evident that the prelates began to fear the people, although they were not prepared to forego their sanguinary intentions. As an incentive to perseverance, the archbishop promised Bancroft his influence on the next vacancy of an episcopal see.† Yet, with all that might be flattering in

\* Original letter of Barrowe's.    † Appendix P.

the prospect of such an elevation, it was needful to proceed with the utmost care. There were symptoms of popular excitement, particularly in Southwark, that rendered caution quite essential.

The Mayor of London,\* in writing some months before to the Lord Treasurer, apprized him, that the conduct of the officers, employed for the execution of warrants, had raised almost a spirit of insurrection. Accustomed to carry out acts of lawless tyranny, these coarse and reckless men had entered private dwellings, and, without the semblance of legal sanction, excited the worst fears of the peaceable inhabitants. A few words from the civic functionary will show the state of things more vividly than any general description.

His lordship says :—" Being informed of a great disorder and tumult like to grow yesternight, about eight of the clock, within the borough of Southwark, I went thither with all speed I could, taking with me one of the sheriffs, where I found great multitudes of people assembled together, and the principal actors to be certain servants of the felt-makers, gathered together out of Barnsey-street, and the Blackfriars, with a great number of loose maisterlesse men apt for such purposes. Whereupon, having made proclamation and dismissed the multitude, I apprehended the chief doers and authors of the disorder; and I have committed them to prison to be further punished as they shall be found to deserve; and having this morning sent for the deputy and constable of the borough,

\* Sir William Webbe, uncle of Land.

with divers others of best credit, who were then present to examine the cause and manner of the disorder, I found that it began upon the serving of a warrant from my Lord Chamberlain by one of the Knight Marshal's men, upon a felt-maker's servant, who was committed to the Marshalsea, with certain others accused to his lordship by the said Knight Marshal's men without cause of offence, as themselves do affirm—for rescuing of whom the said companies assembled themselves by occasion and pretence of their meeting at a play . . . . . I am informed by the inhabitants of Southwark, men of best reputation among them, that the Knight Marshal's men, in the serving of the warrants, do not use themselves with that good discretion and moderate usage as were meet to be done in like cases; but, after a most rough and violent manner, provoking men by such hard dealings to contend with them, who would otherwise obey in all dutiful sort—as I understand they did in this case, when they entered the house where the warrant was to be served, with a dagger drawn, affrighting the good wife who sat by the fire with a young infant in her arms; and afterward, having taken the prisoners and committed them to the Marshalsea (where they lay five days without making their answers), these mutinous persons assembling themselves in this disordered manner.” The affray became serious. “The Knight Marshal's men rushed out of prison, with their daggers drawn and bastinadoes in their hands beating the people (whereby some, passed that way by chance, came to gaze, as the manner is), and afterwards drew

their swords, whereby the tumult was increased and themselves endangered ; but that help came to prevent further mischief." Several persons were "slain in the street." Now, though the populace were not likely to espouse the cause of the religious persons who met in secret, nor the brethren to accept such aid for their cause—there was, in the public mind, a strong feeling of indignation at the outrages committed under forms of law. A plot was formed by parties unconnected with the Separatists for the rescue of Udall, and there was the possibility of an outbreak in the case of Penry.

The perplexity of the prelates was increased by a lucid defence of Penry drawn up in legal terms.

The purport of the paper, stripped of technicalities, may interest the reader. It is entitled, "Mr. Penry's declaration, 16th May, 1593, that he is not in danger of the law for the books published in his name, viz., upon the statute 23 Elizabeth, made against seditious words, because,

"1. The books written by him in defence of those points of religion accounted heresy in former statutes, the statute passed in 1 Ed. VI, cap. 12, and unrepealed, secures exemption from penalties otherwise incurred.

"2. There is no more sedition in these publications than in the writings of the reformers and martyrs which, though condemned by former statutes, are now printed by royal authority.

"3. If this Act had been touching such points, they would have been mentioned expressly.

" 4. Preaching, concerning these points, is not forbidden ; it cannot therefore be illegal to publish.

" 5. The Roman Catholics are allowed freely to write about them.

" 6. Mr. Penry never writ anything of any malicious intent to defame any person, much less her excellent Majesty.

" 7. He never wrote anything slanderous or seditious, but the pure doctrine of the Word of God.

" 8. He never wrote anything to move or encourage any insurrection or rebellion amongst her Majesty's subjects, but the clean contrary.

" 9. He was never of a conventicle where any assembly, either under or above the number of twelve, were assembled with force of arms, or otherwise, to alter anything established by law.

" 10. He never wrote anything that any person should be raised up of his own authority to alter anything established by law ; and never was any such attempt taken in hand by any. Upon the writing of any of his books, he hath evermore, and still doth, gainsay all such godless and wicked practices.

" 11. He should have been accused of the crime within one month, either on his own voluntary confession, or the evidence brought against him in this case should have been given up at the next gaol delivery.

" 12. He should have been indicted within one year, otherwise the statute itself (though he had been within the compass of the same) doth clear him in express words."

None will be surprised to learn, that on receiving this able document, the Lord Chief Justice Popham, in the Queen's Bench, apprehending that an argument at law would arise out of the declaration, set it aside. Another course was resolved upon, therefore, by the prosecutor.

Among the private papers of Penry, was found the draft of a petition to the Queen, prepared by him when in Scotland ; and which he intended, when completed, to present in person to her "dread Majesty." These rough notes, which are in existence in their original state, contain nothing, however indecorous in form, that would now be reckoned treasonable in the remotest degree. Their great fault is, the truth contained in them ; couched in terms, which, to the honest and independent mind of the young Reformer, had become habitual. He never finished the petition for the reasons apparent from the incidents of his private history. If he had given the last touch to the memorial, or found the audience he desired, it is extremely probable that he would not have softened a paragraph, or even a word, that he deemed needful for the "majesty of his cause," though he would have been most ready (as the stroke of his pen drawn through the closing passage clearly shows) to remove any expression in which he might appear to arrogate anything to himself.

The paper is dated April 30, 1592, and opens in the following strain :—"The last days of your reign are turned rather against Jesus Christ and His Gospel, than to the maintenance of the same. I have great

cause of complaint, madam—nay, the Lord and His church have cause to complain—of your government: because we, your subjects this day, are not permitted to serve our God under your government according to His Word; but are sold to be bond-slaves—not only to our affections, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves within the compass of established civil laws, but also to be servants of the “Man of Sin and his ordinances.”

“It is not the force that we seem to fear that will come upon us (for the Lord may destroy both; you for denying, and us for slack-seeking of his will) by strangers. I come unto you with it; if you will hear it, our cause may be eased; if not, that posterity may know that you have been dealt with, and that this age may know that there is no reformation to be looked for at your hands.

“Among the rest of the princes under the Gospel, that have been drawn to oppose it, you must think yourself to be one; for until you see this, madam, you see not yourself, and they are but sycophants and flatterers, who-soever tell you otherwise. Your standing is, and has been, by the Gospel. It is little beholden to you for anything that appears. The practice of your government shews that if you could have ruled without the Gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the Gospel should be established or not; for now that you are established in your throne by the Gospel, you suffer it to reach no farther than the end of your sceptre limiteth unto it.”

The entire memorial is in the same tone. We can imagine Penry, writing it under the inspiration of

the text, "I will speak of Thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed." And when he has sketched his first thoughts, we think we can see him entering his closet to pray that the day may come for the testimony to be given; and this, for the highest welfare of the monarch he still regards with loyal affection. Still it must be borne in mind there was no overt act. The petition was not presented; nor, indeed, even alluded to in conversation with his most confidential friends; and that not a syllable can be found in any of his writings betraying the absence of the profoundest respect for Her Majesty.

There was matter, nevertheless, offensive enough to render an indictment sure of success; and to prevent the exercise of royal clemency, the abettors of the prosecution well knew their advantage. To make the point doubly sure, two indictments were prepared, which are recorded in Sir Edward Coke's 'Book of Entries,' verbatim. It is not worth while to interrupt the course of the narrative, by quoting the legal jargon, rendered more formal in appearance by black letter and barbaric French. The cause was heard at Westminster, before the Lord Chief Justice, and the rest of the judges, on the 21st of May, 1593; that is to say, the advisers of the crown were heard, and conviction obtained. Next day, Penry being removed to the Queen's Bench, Southwark, addressed a letter to Lord Burleigh, accompanied by his protestation. Both papers are preserved in the original; the handwriting of the latter, in particular, is clear and beautiful.



We cannot consent to an abridgment of these papers to please the fastidious; nor can we suppose any interested by this time in the character of the faithful martyr will be disposed to pass them over.

“To the Right Honourable my good Lord the Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer of England, and one of her Majesty’s most honourable Privil Council.—  
22 May, 1593.

“JOHN PENRY to my L.

“He sends your Lp. a writing declaring his  
innocency.”

“Vouchsafe, I beseech your lordship and right honourable, to read and duly weigh the writing herein enclosed. My days, I see, are drawing to an untimely, and, I thank God, an undeserved end; except the Lord my God shall stir up your honour, or some other, to plead my cause, and to acquaint her Majesty with my guiltless estate.

“How clear I am of that heinous crime, especially now intended against me, this, my writing, doth declare.

“The cause is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life, with blood, unto a violent end; especially seeing they are most private, and so imperfect, as they have no coherence at all in them; and, in most places, carry no true English. If I may crave so much favour of your lordship, as to procure that her Majesty, before I be farther proceeded with, may be acquainted with this true testimony of the affection and loyalty which I

have ever carried towards her Highness, I shall entreat the Lord that you may not want your reward for this work. *Law*,\* I know, there is none that can take hold of me; and yet I refer myself wholly to her determination, and will be contented with the sentence which the Lord shall move her to give me.

“ Though mine innocency may stand me in no stead before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the reward thereof before the judgment seat of the great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieveth the widow and fatherless, will reward my desolate orphans and friendless widow that I leave behind me; and even hear their cry, for He is merciful.

“ Being likely to trouble your lordship with no more letters, I do, with thankfulness, acknowledge your honour's favour towards me; in that you have been always open to receive the writings which I have presumed to send unto you from time to time; and in this, my last, I protest before the Lord God, that I have written nothing but truth unto your lordship, in any of my letters, that I know of.

“ Thus, preparing myself, not so much for an unjust verdict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as unto that blessed crown of glory, which, of the great mercy of my God, is ready for me in heaven, I humbly betake your lordship unto the hands of the just Lord through Christ. In great haste, from close prison, this 22nd of the 5th month May, 1593.

“ Your lordship's most humble in the Lord,

“ JOHN PENRY.” †

\* This word is strangely omitted by Strype. † Original in Lansdowne MSS.

“ John Penry—his protestation before his death, sent to the Lord Treasurer :—

“ Although it were altogether most reasonable that these, my public, deliberate, and digested writings, should bind up and seal that wound which my most secret, unbalanced, and confused observations are judged to make ; yet I crave not so much as that equity in that case, wherein my allegiance and dutifulness towards my most gracious prince is called in question. Only this I desire, that what in the very conscience of her right excellent Majesty, and of all those both honourable and worshipful (unto whose hands I earnestly entreat that this my writing may come), shall be most likely to agree with truth, may be determined, touching my cause. And that, accordingly, I may be acquitted or condemned of the guilt laid unto my charge.

“ As for the penalty thereof, I will not refuse to sustain the same, if it shall be thought good unto her Highness to inflict it upon me; whether it be the undeserved mulct of my innocence, or the just demerit of my guiltiness, that I refer unto the Lord's determination, and her gracious Majesty whom he hath placed over me. My innocency, only, I desire hereby to be manifested without any further regard ; that, whether I live or die, my uprightness toward my prince may survive.

“ Whatsoever they, in these my private intercepted writings (being for the most part the secret and confused observations of my own study), touch her excellent Majesty, the same I protest were set down by me, either as objected indeed by others, whereof I thought

to have considered further (if at all), for Her Majesty's clearing, when occasion should be offered; or as being the grounds of a brief treatise, which, with mine own hands (if ever the Lord should grant means and opportunity thereof), I purposed to have delivered unto her Highness, for the manifestation of my faith and allegiance towards the Lord and her Majesty. Wherein, as in a private advertisement, for the discharge of my conscience, I meant to have offered unto her consideration—Whether many things besides her knowledge were not done under her government, to the hindrance of the free Gospel? for the which she was blamed in foreign nations; and, it may be, would be further charged among posterity.

“These my writings also are not only most imperfect, but even so private, that no creature under heaven was privy unto them (myself excepted) until now they were seized upon; and, therefore, it will be the great fault of those into whose hands they are come, and not any undutifulness of mine, that ever they be made more public than they are. Mine I dare not acknowledge them to be, for a thousand worlds; because I should thereby most fearfully sin against the Lord and mine own conscience, in bearing false witness against myself. I never conceived that any man would have made anything of them—especially against myself—by whomsoever they have been intercepted; otherwise, it may be well thought, that I would never have reserved them, being to my so small use as all men will judge them to be. Now, for the clearing of my dutifulness towards her Majesty, and of the purpose I

had in going to refer myself into her hands, it shall be found in these, my intercepted writings, how earnestly I have entreated the Lord, and how often (especially towards the end of my coming out of Scotland), to grant me favour in her sight, and to incline her heart unto my petition; which was only that it would please her to conceive of me—as I was in heart towards her—and to permit me to employ my small talent among my poor countrymen in Wales, for their calling unto the knowledge of Christ. Their ignorance I know to be lamentable.

“It will also appear in my said writings, that word coming into Scotland of her Majesty’s departure out of this life, I humbled myself, when I heard it, in fasting and prayer before the Lord; entreating even, with many tears, that the report might prove untrue—as I thank His majesty it did. Shewing what a great stroke in my conscience, the taking of her Majesty out of this life would be unto the whole Church of God, this day; especially unto her kingdom—my dear and native country. How heavy the news was unto me in particular, those my writings do partly testify: my conscience knoweth, and the Lord God, I am sure, will reveal unto my utter clearing in that great day. This was done long since I had occasion to set down all the things where-with I am likely to be heavily charged. No creature was privy unto this action of mine, until my writings were now intercepted: neither did I ever purpose to reveal the same. Now that my secret, confused, and unadvised observations are brought against me, even

to the spilling of my blood, I humbly crave that these, my papers, also may be looked upon and brought to light as well as the other; whereby mine adversaries think to impeach mine allegiance, which, I thank God, neither man nor angel shall ever be able to effect. This was done in January, or February was twelve months, 1592. It will be easily found out in these papers of mine, which contain a mirir (miroir), or daily observations of mine own sins and corruptions; and of the special bequests which I made unto the Lord. Being things of that secrecy, as I well know all the world will think it shameful, that they should be laid to my charge, yet I thank the Lord I refuse not to be tried by them.

“Touching the particular thing that concern her Majesty in these my papers, I had great occasion, in the time of my being and continuance in Scotland, to take notice of them for the purpose afore-mentioned; and surely, the most part of them are expressed in the very, or the like words, wherein they were objected unto me; even by those whom I judge to wish well unto her Majesty and government; for the gentlemen, ministers, and people of Scotland, who are not acquainted with the state of this land, think, by reason of the prelacy here maintained—the yoke whereof they felt over grievous—within these few years, by reason of the multitude of dumb ministers, that tolerated and daily made in this land, and because they hear that preachers are silenced, suspended, imprisoned deprived, &c.; they have thought, I say, and have spoken it unto me, that little or no truth is permitted

to be taught in England; that what is taught, is measured by the length of her Majesty's sceptre, &c.; that the Commonwealth, indeed, is much; but the Gospel is little, beholden to her, &c. Whereunto I answered, that the Gospel is, in my conscience, as much beholden unto her Majesty, as unto all the princes in Europe beside; they have replied that princes dissemble, then; for none of them, that apparently defend the Gospel, do suffer the ministers and professors thereof, under their government, to be silenced and imprisoned for their conscience sake; and for maintaining that truth which reformed churches, do generally embrace. Whereunto, as I have always sufficiently answered, I thank the Lord, on her Majesty's behalf, so have I set down, confusedly, that tenour of the speeches in these my writings, that I might, upon better leisure, consider them; and make some use, for the discharge of conscience, as before I have set down.

“Hereof, also, I have had special occasion, upon some private conference with the ministers of that country, wherein I have otherwise informed them of the state of things better than they were generally certified by their merchants, or such others as travelled thither, in such sort as being invited—some of them—by a godly gentleman of that country; they told him, that it was not with great reason (seeing he had so often spoken with me) that he, being in such a nobleman's great chamber, where her Majesty's picture was set below the picture of divers other kings and princes, betook the same and placed it above them; for they thought her to be no less worthy, if the speeches which I

gave of her Highness were true. The gentleman answered, that he was glad to learn that of me, who, as he judged, would not report otherwise than truth—which he always conceived of her—viz., that the Evangel of Christ was as ‘mickel dead bound’ (for these were his words) unto the Queen of England, as unto all the princes on this side of the Alps. That which he durst the more boldly avouch upon the credit of my report.

“These, and such like, I say, have been the occasions of whatsoever in my private writings seemeth to make most against me. And I could name Englishmen who, if they will speak indifferent, must testify, that they have heard no less objected by others—and no less answered by me—than I here set down, as convenience of time and place hath been ministered. Yea, when mine own cause, or the cause of others (who professing the Gospel, were judged to be hardly dealt with under her Majesty’s government), hath been acknowledged, I have answered, ‘*Ut Parentum, sic Principis ac Patriæ, severitatem, patiendo ac ferendo, leniendam esse.*’ Which sayings, as also some others of Mark Tully unto Lentulus, as I remember, shall be found noted in those my writings, to this very purpose. Whereby it may appear, that what I now write hath some coherence in it; though those, my observations, be most confused; such as out of the which no man (myself excepted) can possibly gather any purpose. I have not looked upon the most of these, my writings, within these fourteen or fifteen months; whereby, considering how they are set down, I might also forget the purpose for which they were noted.



“Yet I will not desire to be accounted, as I thank God I am, that is, a loyal subject unto my prince, if I shew not any speech contained in them, touching her Majesty, to have risen upon the former occasions, and to have been noted for the purposes I spake of; namely, either the advertising, or the further clearing of her Majesty, as the Lord would offer me occasion.

“The which latter purpose of mine is also cleared in a treatise which I published now near seven years since. Wherein, writing unto the Parliament, I shew that the Papists—either Bristow or Saunders (if my memory fail me not)—had given out that her Majesty regardeth not the Gospel any further than it may be for her standing. And, therefore, I desire the Parliament that they would withstand that slander, by providing that the people of Wales may be better taught; saying, that for mine own part, whatsoever the Parliament should do, I did gainsay the same (imputation) as being undutiful and slanderous against my prince, as loud as ink or paper could do it.

“These are my words; and, as I shall answer before the Lord my God, I had no other but this dutiful meaning, in setting down whatsoever is now so heinously interpreted in those my writings. Briefly, the most dutiful and reverend regard which I have carried toward her Majesty in my public writings, wheresoever I have mentioned her or her government; the tenor of my life that way, together with the testimony of all those which have known me or my writings; especially, such of my countrymen, as knew me in Scotland, will clear me of whatsoever may touch my loyalty toward my sovereign.

“And I do here, in this last writing which is likely to proceed from me, for ought I know, protest, before all the world, that although I regarded neither the fear of God or man, nor yet the testimony of a good conscience, yet the respect which I have always had, that my native country of Wales should not carry the blemish that ever it brought forth, on my part, any that should defame, or deal undutifully with so gracious a prince as is and hath been always unto us, should and would keep me from all undutiful attempts against her highness. Nay, I thank God, I have all reasons that do and always have stirred me up unto all dutifulness unto my prince; but never anything that moved me so much as in a secret wandering thought unto any disloyal cogitation of her Majesty.

“Lastly, in these my intercepted writings—which are now brought against me—containing in them, not only a particular record of my daily corruptions, for and against the which I craved mercy and strength at the Lord’s hands; but also of all the special sins whereof my conscience could accuse me in all my life, even unto the day of my coming out of Scotland—it will easily appear, whether my soul was privy unto any offence committed by me against her Majesty; save only this (whereof I there complain); namely, that I was not so careful in praying for her preservation and welfare, as I desired and laboured to have been; and yet, I thank the Lord, I remember not, that that day hath past over my head, since, under her government, I first came unto ‘knowledge of the truth,’ wherein I have not commended her estate unto His Majesty.

“I deal in these, my most secret papers, without guile; as in His sight whom I know to be the revealer of secrets, and at whose hand I craved the healing of my bruised conscience. Wherefore, it concerned me not to collude with Him, though I might do the same with man. Such dealing might well augment the intolerable burden of my wearied soul, but cure my wound it could not; and, therefore, I may truly say, if ever I had been guilty of any such crime, that there it would have been set down, even when I poured the very secrets of my heart before the mercy-seat of the *Ever-Living*.

“Well, I may be indicted, arraigned, condemned, and end the days of my wearisome *pilgrimage* as a felon—yea, or traitor against my natural sovereign; but I thank my God, heaven and earth shall not be able to convict me thereof; and my attainder, whensoever it shall be for this cause, will be more infamous than was the owners of the crown in Cheap, under King Richard III., (whose government I do in no wise compare unto her Majesty’s peaceable reign). For the man was rewarded evil for doing no hurt; and I am likely to be recompensed evil for good. Though I am assured, that if her Majesty—which I humbly and earnestly desire and entreat—may understand the uprightness of my cause in any sort, that one hair of my head shall not perish. And because my supposed offence is only done against her Majesty, I refer myself wholly unto her hands and determination, (her highness having considered my cause, as here I have set down the same,) without any further trial. If she adjudge me to death, or to the most intolerable servitude that

can be invented, for the whole term of this, my short stinted life, I offer under her my hand to undergo that penalty, without any shew of unwillingness, as near as I can.

“And I thank God, that whensoever an end of my days comes—as *I look not to live this week to an end*—mine innocency shall benefit so much, as I shall die Queen Elizabeth’s most faithful subject—even in the conscience of my very adversaries themselves, if they will be the beholders thereof; and, by my death, convince them before all the world, that I have lived so too. And my God, I trust, will one day cause my innocency to shine as the noon day, before my gracious prince.

“I am a poor young man, born and bred in the mountains of Wales. I am the first, since the last springing up of the Gospel in this latter age, that laboured to have the blessed seed thereof sown in those barren mountains. I have often rejoiced before my God, as He knoweth that I had the favour to be born and live under her Majesty, for the promoting of this work. In the earnest desire I had, to see the Gospel in my native country, and the contrary corruptions removed, I might well, as I confess in my published writings, with Hegetorides the Thracian, forget mine own danger; but my loyalty to my prince did I never forget. And being now to end my days before I am come to the one half of my years, in the likely course of nature, I leave the success of my labours unto such of my countrymen as the Lord is to raise after me, for the accomplishing of that work

which, in the calling of my country unto the knowledge of Christ's blessed Gospel, I began.\*

"I never took myself for a rebuker, much less for a reformer, of states and kingdoms; far was that from me; yet, in the discharge of my conscience, all the world must bear with me, if I prefer my testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ before the favour of any creature. An enemy unto any good order and policy, either in Church or Commonwealth, was I never. All good learning and knowledge of the arts and tongues I laboured to attain unto, and to promote to the uttermost of my power. Whatsoever I wrote in religion, the same I did, simply, for no other end than for the bringing of God's truth to light. I never did anything in His cause (Lord, thou art witness!) for contention, vain glory, or to draw disciples after me; or to be accounted singular. Whatsoever I wrote, or held, beside the warrant of the written Word, I have always warned all men to leave; and wherein I saw that I had erred myself, I have, as all this land doth now know, confessed my ignorance, and framed my judgment and practice according to the truth of the Word. Notwithstanding that this be prejudicial to my public writings; yea, and life. The like am I ready to do in anything which I hold beside the truth at this hour.

"That brief confession of my faith and allegiance unto the Lord and her Majesty, written since my imprisonment, and delivered to the worshipful Mr. Justice Young, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus

Christ and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God's eternal verity in it; and, therefore, if my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all, by the help of the Lord, for the maintenance of the same, my confession. Yet, if any error can be shewed therein, that will I not maintain.

“ Otherwise, far be it, that either the saving of an earthly life; the regard which in nature I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a poor friendless widow and four poor fatherless infants, whereof the eldest is not above four years old, which I am to leave behind me; or any other outward thing, should enforce me, by the denial of God's truth, contrary to my conscience, to leese mine own soul: the Lord, I trust, will never give me over unto this sin. Great things in this life, I never sought for; not so much as in thought. A mean and base outward state, according, to my mean condition, I was content with. Sufficiency, I have had, with great outward troubles; but most contented I was with my lot—and content I am, and shall be, with my undeserved and untimely death: beseeching the Lord, that it be not laid to the charge of any creature in this land—for I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in that day of strict account; praying for them, as for my own soul, that, although upon earth we cannot accord, we may yet meet in heaven, unto our eternal comfort and unity; where all controversies shall be at an end. And if my death can procure any quietness to the Church of God, or the State, I shall

rejoice. I know not to what better use it could be employed if it were reserved. And, therefore, in this cause I desire not to spare the same. Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince; and thus I mean to die by His grace. Many such subjects I wish unto my prince, though no such reward to any of them.

“My only request being also as earnest as possibly, I can utter the same, unto all those, both honourable and worshipful, unto whose hands this my last testimony may come, is, that her Majesty may be acquainted herewith before my death—if it may be—or at least before my departure.

“Subscribed with that heart and that hand which never devised or wrote anything to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign Queen Elizabeth; I take it on my death, as I hope to have a life after this.

“By me, JOHN PENRY.”\*

From original notes in the State Paper Office, we find that the impression made by this remarkable document on the mind of Penry's judges was not favourable.

“Penry,” answer these legal advisers of the crown, “is not, as he pretendeth, a loyal subject, but a seditious disturber of her Majesty's peaceable government, appeareth many ways.” Amongst others:—

“By his schismatical separation from the society of the Church of England, and joining with the

\* Original in Lansdowne MSS.

hypocritical and schismatical conventicles of Barrowe and Greenwood. And—

“ By his justifying of Barrowe and Greenwood, who, suffering worthily for their seditious writings and preachings, are, nevertheless, represented by him as holy martyrs.”





the executioner, and unable to withdraw so long as they might catch a glimpse of their brother, while yet living. The scene around the gallows has been called up; the appearance of the martyr when pinioned as a felon; the words addressed by him of instruction and comfort, forgetful of his own suffering, and anxious only to establish the heart of the bereaved. But all this mental conflict and heart-rending agony was in reality spared to the widows of the three martyrs, and to the little flock in whose fellowship they found their only earthly solace. The "protestation" of Penry contains his last utterances known to us in any form; and the climax is sublime. He was left with his God, and the assurance is perfect that he was not forsaken. On the 25th of May, sentence of death was formally pronounced. Four days after\* Archbishop Whitgift attended the council chamber, with Sir John Puckering, the Lord Keeper, and Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, to sign the warrant. The primate affixed his name first—the instrument was sent immediately to the sheriff, who proceeded on the same day to erect the gallows at St. Thomas-a-Watering.† While Penry was at dinner, the officers came to bid him make ready; for he must die that afternoon at four o'clock; an unusual, and, therefore, unexpected hour.

\* The delay deceived the people, for as the execution did not take place on the second or third day, they expected a respite.

† This place of execution for the County of Surrey was situated close to the second mile stone on the Kent road, and near a brook dedicated to St. Thomas-a-Becket.

And forth we riden a little more than pas  
Unto the Watering of Saint Thomas,  
And then our hoste began his hors arrest.

*Chaucer, Prok. C. T.*

He was led, at five, from the prison in the High-street, Borough, to the fatal spot. A small company of persons,\* attracted by seeing the workmen preparing the gibbet, had collected together. Penry would have spoken, but the sheriff insisted, that neither in protestation of his loyalty, nor in the avowal of his innocence, should he utter a word. His life was taken, and the people were dispersed. The place of his burial is unknown. But—

Though nameless, trampled and forgot,  
His servant's humble ashes lie ;  
Yet God has marked and sealed the spot,  
To call its inmate to the sky.

It is scarcely needful to detain the reader with any remarks with respect to the estimate of Penry's character. Why speak of his transparent sincerity—his noble fidelity—his quenchless zeal—his incorruptible integrity—his unflinching courage—his keen and tender sensibility, or of his meekness and gentleness in private intercourse? All this is known to those who have traced his course—so simple, and so luminous, and so direct.

We have no heart, in the recollection of his sufferings, to point out his defects. These, also, are as apparent as his excellence. They are rendered, indeed, more distinctly visible by the very lustre of that excellence.

\* The Rev. Peter Heylyn, D. D., and Chaplain to Charles I and Charles II. gives the following brief account of the sad transaction. "Penry was executed with a very thin company attending on him, for fear the fellow might have raised some tumult either in going to the gallows, or upon the ladder. But what he could not do when he was alive, was put into a way of being effected when the hangman had done his office, by publishing some of his seditious pamphlets, printed by some zealous brethren."

*History of Presby.* 4, ix, 325.

In common with all martyrs and reformers he had strong convictions, and, in the expression of them, he employed terms that are felt to be too startling and vehement in an age of compromise. Yet, like Wickliffe, Latimer, and Luther, he had a reason for this moral severity, and the effect was beneficial. The work of the pioneer differs from that of the peaceful cultivator who follows in his track. Let us not, while we sit beneath the shade of the real tree of liberty, rooted by the storm of persecution, and watered by the blood of the martyrs, blame them that, in planting it, and in effecting a clearance for us, they were wanting in some of the graces of manner on which we pride ourselves. We may become effeminate in our love of refinement and lose the great inheritance entrusted to us.

In the execution of Penry, the Elizabethan prelates imagined that they had achieved a signal victory. Whitgift urgently wrote to the Lord Treasurer to reward Bancroft by some splendid act of patronage, as the most active instrument in the accomplishment of the purpose long meditated, but, as the course of events had shewn, attended with many difficulties. But the proud and cruel priest\* had greatly miscalculated the gain he expected. The vitality of the bleeding church was not destroyed. Francis Johnson, the pastor, was liberated on condition of voluntary exile. He was followed, according to the advice of Penry, into Holland by the brethren, both in London and in the north. A train of incidents arose, too important in their results to be sketched at the close of the volume. Southwark,

\* Appendix R.

Gainsborough, Scrooby, Leyden, and the Plymouth Rock in New England, stand in moral relations the most interesting and instructive we can well imagine. To exhibit these relations, however, in their own beautiful and impressive light must be the work of another day.\*

The vine was brought out of Egypt and planted in a virgin soil. God himself prepared room for it, and caused it to take deep root, and it is now filling the mighty land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof like the goodly cedars. "She sent out her boughs unto the sea and her branches unto the river."

The best of England's sons sought and found a home in the distant wilderness. Men of truth, and men of peace, were denied a resting-place in the land of their fathers' sepulchres, and were long refused the means of expatriation. In the year of Penry's martyrdom, though the fact is not generally known, they petitioned to go out to the New World; but in vain. The mother country sustained for a time an incalculable loss. The Church of England suffered a moral collapse.

The successor of Whitgift found, that for want of earnest piety, society itself was threatened with dissolution. Piety of that type was nevertheless treated as a crime, and the mistaken primate of the first Charles became in turn a martyr for mechanical forms intended to galvanize that which had in itself no vital energy.

\* The "Memorials of the Pilgrim Fathers, illustrated by W. H. Bartlett," and the Picture of the "Departure of the Pilgrims," painted by Herbert, and published by Mr. Agnew, may prepare the public mind for the reception of facts hitherto concealed in undusted MSS. relative to the tap roots of New England.

At a subsequent period, the testimony of the martyred Separatists excited a powerful and salutary influence. When the two thousand nonconforming clergy were silenced on a single day, and driven from their homes and from their flocks, the fragments written by Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry, were re-printed and widely circulated.

"Divers ministers," writes Kennett, Aug. 24, 1662, "who, in the late broken times, were possessed of benefices in and about London, having refused to conform to the Church of England according to law established, did this, day of St. Bartholomew, leave their flocks. But their respective churches, through the care and prudence of the most worthy diocesan, were fully supplied by divers very eminent for their learning and good conversation—to the great satisfaction of many good christians—though a few fanatics (raked together from both sides of London Bridge) laboured to disturb the ministers in one or two churches. Whereof themselves have small reason to glory, and may have less hereafter." The "fanatics," the worthy chronicler speaks of, were the humble and earnest Christian people, who, after the fire of London, and in the midst of the plague, held meetings for worship; visited the sick and dying, when the diocesan and clergy, with the Court, had fled from the infected capital. Their principal offence was the publication of Penry's trial, and the efforts made by them to distribute it amongst their friends. The press was again at work, and in places where, for a time, the emissaries of the bishops, because of the raging pestilence, durst not come.

In our own time, the voluntary Christian societies originated, to a great extent, by the heroic men who broke away from the establishment in the sixteenth century, lend, indirectly, the most powerful moral support to the friends of Gospel truth who worship within its pale.

The position of the evangelical clergyman, in the judgment of some extremely anomalous, and always difficult, would become absolutely untenable but for the sympathy created for his principles by those who, without emolument, and often under reproach, have laboured with great discouragement by the side of the Church of England. Not only so, but when the lamp of an evangelical ministry has gone out, by the presentation of a living to one who hated the very name of the Gospel, the pious members of the episcopal community have often found oil in the humbler sanctuary of their nonconformist brethren.

The obligation is not recognised, nevertheless it exists, and at the present juncture it should be remembered. Let the lessons of the past, and the occurrences of the day, lead to a closer and yet honest alliance between the sincere friends of the truth as it is in Jesus. With mutual forbearance, mutual esteem, and mutual help, there will be mutual approximation to Him who is full of truth and grace; the Church of Christ will then advance in knowledge, in purity, and in love; and the whole race of man, to the end of time, will reap the benefit.

## APPENDIX.



## A.

THE MORAL CONDITION OF WALES, &c. (p. 9):—In an Act passed, A.D., 1562-3, the 5th Elizabeth, c. 28, it is stated, that “her Majestie’s most lovyng and obedyent subjects inhabiting within her Hynesses dominyon and country of Wales, being no small part of this realme, are utterly destituted of Goode’s holy Woorde, and doo remayne in the like, or *reyther more* darckness and ignorance, than they were in the tyme of paypistrye.”

## B.

FAWSLEY MANOR (p. 36):—*Sir Richard Knightley*, of Fawsley Manor, was a great friend of the Puritans. He represented the Borough of Northampton, in the Parliament of 1584-1586; and sat for the county in



1588. He was Sheriff for Northamptonshire in the 9th and 22nd of Elizabeth, as his ancestor had been in the reign of Edward IV. Lady Knightley, his second wife, was the sixth and youngest daughter of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Protector.

The views of Sir Richard, on religious freedom, must have been in advance of his times ; for, in 1605, he presented a petition to Parliament in favour of the Roman Catholics.

### C.

THE MISERABLE STATE OF GERMANY, &c. (p. 38):—Germany has yet to learn the cause of her difficulties in relation to this matter, and the true solution of them. In the recent discussion at the meeting of the Kirchentag, Sept. 20, 1853, Dr. Snethlage, of the cathedral church of Berlin, read an important paper, in which he said—"The wants of particular individuals are better supplied by the sects than the church. A man is converted, but almost in despair ; he is afterwards happy in believing ; then he will tell his neighbours, and his words make a deep impression ; he will feel it his duty to become a preacher. In our church, no place is found for such a person ; he has not studied, but he feels compelled to preach ; so that he now becomes a sectarian, or perhaps the leader of a sect. They had lately seen not a small number separate through the want of social religion, which they found in separation—although, certainly, with much they did not seek : such longings were quite justifiable. In this

respect, sects did much good. Brotherhoods should be instituted to afford social intercourse; but in accordance with church order."

The primitive believers separated themselves in the same manner, and for the same object. They were called the "sect of the Nazarenes," the "sect every where spoken against." Only in that spiritual community could the longing for fellowship be satisfied. A State church, in its national character, can furnish no such brotherhood. Luther felt this as his grand difficulty.\* Writing to the Christians at Prague, in the early part of his career as a Reformer, he advises them to retire from the larger assemblies, and to establish house communities; that is, to form an association of families under pious parental leaders, and so, in the exercise of faith and love in these inner and domestic circles, to restore the Church of Christ. See the interesting work of Professor Shenkel, "*Das Wesen Protestantismus*."

The recent report, of the deputation appointed to make inquiry into the condition of the persecuted Christians in Germany, affords a striking and painful illustration of the incompatibility of State authority in religion with real freedom. The gentlemen, delegated to this delicate and important mission, bear honourable and unequivocal testimony to the intelligence, courtesy,

\* As early as 1523, he published a treatise entitled:—" *Gründe und Ursache aus der Schrift, dass die Christliche Versammlung oder Gemeinde Recht und Macht*," &c., in which he sketches the outline of a Free Protestant Church on the basis of a lay constitution, independent of the State. But from these simple and scriptural principles the Reformer gradually departed as he became entangled in alliances with the princes of Germany.

and piety of the German authorities, with some exceptions; yet their position renders them apparently unconscious of the wrongs inflicted by them on their fellow-countrymen, whose integrity, benevolence, and even Christian excellence, they are ready to admit. What is more strange, they have joined the Protestants of Europe in remonstrances to the Duke of Tuscany, for practices to which they are confessedly addicted, and which they stoutly defend. Baron von Lauer Munchofen, the prime minister of the reigning Prince of Schaumburg Lippe, said, that Luther always set his face against sects, as the Lutherans did at the present day, and required the State to protect the true faith. In a decree, founded on a church ordinance of 1616, signed in the name of the prince by his ministers, and published June 29th, 1852, we read:—

“1. Local authorities are prohibited from granting a permission of residence to any missionaries of the Baptists.

“2. Should such foreign missionaries secretly, or without permission, remain in the country, they are to be arrested and imprisoned; for the first offence, one month; for every subsequent offence, three months.

“3. If Baptists, who are natives of the country, hold conventicles, or meetings for religious worship, they shall be imprisoned one month, or two, according as the meeting has been held, privately, or in public. Foreigners, holding such meetings, are liable to the punishment in clause 2.

“4. Whoever allows such meetings to be held at his house, but does not himself conduct it, shall suffer imprisonment for fourteen days.

"5. Any person, whether a native or a foreigner, who sells or distributes Baptist tracts, shall be liable to an imprisonment of fourteen days for each offence. A foreigner incurs, in addition, the penalty in clause 2. All tracts of this kind are to be sent to the Government.

"6. Persons performing ecclesiastical acts, namely, the administration of the sacraments, ordination, and marriage, shall be subject to an imprisonment of six months. Foreigners incur, in addition, the penalty in clause 2."

Similar decrees are in force in other states. Hence, scenes, the exact parallel of those related in the life of Penry, are witnessed to this day in Germany. In Saxe Meinengen, a pastor describes the difficulties of his flock in reaching the place of meeting, because of the vigilance of the police. It was ten o'clock, he tells us, on a dark and rainy night, where they all met on the side of a hill, in the depths of a pine forest, to show forth the death of Christ. "Our table," to quote his own words, "was the mossy turf. I spread that table with a white cloth. How beautiful did the cup of the Lord appear upon it, while a few stars looked down upon a clouded sky! It was so dark in the gloom of the forest, that we could scarcely see the bread; but our hearts were the more full of joy, as we had so long missed this sacred privilege. In commemorating our Lord's death, He had strengthened our faith and love, and we joined in a song in the loneliness of a night in the forest."

Another pastor relates the circumstances of their imprisonment. "On the 26th February, 1853, six of

the brethren were apprehended and committed to prison. Each of us took his Bible under his arm, and we went cheerfully to our punishment, in the confidence that the Lord was with us. In the evening, when we were locked up, we sang a hymn in the dark, for lights were not allowed, and commended ourselves to the grace of God, and then laid down to rest.

“On the 11th May, some of the sisters were cast into prison. My wife was one of them, with an infant in her arms only four months old; and the wife of another brother, with an infant only six weeks old. Like their brethren, they spent much of their time in reading, and at first, in singing also; but this was afterwards forbidden, and the jailer was commanded to take away all their books from them except the Bible. They suffered much, and especially the infants, from cold.”

Such, in the nineteenth century, is “the miserable estate of Germany,” not from sects, but from the connection of religion with the State. The principle of an establishment is essentially that of spiritual despotism; the State, as such, can neither feel nor reason—it is hard inflexible power. Liberty, therefore, can never exist but in the growth of vital, and therefore voluntary, christianity. Such christianity has always been branded as sectarianism, and every where spoken against.

In England there has been an approximation to freedom in the advance of separate churches. To-day, according to the census of the Government the endowed and unendowed churches are very nearly balanced.

This result has been secured not by violence, but with the steady and silent progress of religious conviction. All honour to the faithful men who first began the march of freedom; or rather all glory to their divine Leader and Commander. There is no true liberty where religious liberty is wanting; much less is there liberty of opinion, of investigation, of instruction, where there is not that of conscience. One of the reasons which make us desire religious liberty (and it is not to be consummated but in the separation) is this; that when man shall have tasted this liberty, he will desire to taste all others; it is, that when he shall be found capable of religious liberty, he will be capable of all other analogous and correlative liberties; it is, that when it shall have been granted to him, no other can be withheld. It will be to him at once the inauguration and apprenticeship of his emancipation."

An able article appears in the *North British Review* No. XL., on the "Struggles and Tendencies of German Protestantism," the more worthy of attention as coming from the organ of the Free Church of Scotland. The picture given of the demoralised condition of Germany is most deplorable. Hardly less painful is the representation of the isolation and mutual distance of the ecclesiastical bodies. "Each State church, in more than thirty different governments, stands absolutely alone, having its own laws of administration, chequered and diversified in the most singular fashion. *The churches even of the same Lutheran confession have no fellowship*; Brunswick and Hanover, and even Hamburg and Holstein, standing

aloof from each other, and from all the rest of the confederation," vying in nothing so much, apparently, as in the practice of intolerance. The efforts to coerce the people into uniformity, have driven thousands of them to America and Australia. With great candour the reviewer admits that the existence of this terrible despotism has arisen from the absence of voluntary churches. "Germany" he says, "had not passed through that course of training in religious liberty which has been so immensely beneficial to the history of Britain and America. No second struggle arose, as in England, for a Reformation within the Reformation, slowly working out, by the reaction of a powerful nonconformity, the ultimate triumph both of religious and civil liberty. This, the turning point of English history, has never arrived for Germany. She had her Huguenots, but not her Puritans. Hence her plurality of State churches, Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed; in some territories, embracing almost the whole population. Hence the long reign of territorialism in the church, and of feudal despotism." The organised hypocrisy cannot long continue. "We regard it as written in the book of fate, that an ultimate disruption of the entire compact is inevitable; and that the stern but salutary necessity of the church doing battle with the godless democracy in her own strength, and with no other weapons than faith and prayer, and, it may be, suffering, is not far distant."

Meanwhile there is hope for Germany—aristocratic and democratic, in the Kirchentag, a free convention from the ministers and members of the Lutheran,

Reformed, United, and Moravian churches of Germany, forming a kind of annual parliament for the discussion of all public questions, and for the advancement of the German Inner mission.

## D.

**JOB THROGMORTON** (p. 56):—Job Throgmorton was descended from the family of the Throgmortons, of Coughton, Warwickshire. He was a man of high reputation, and very acceptable as a preacher. In the decline of life, he came to reside at Ashby, near Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, that he might enjoy the society and receive the counsels of the venerable Mr. John Dod. He died in 1628. Sir Clement Throgmorton, a man of great eloquence and learning, who represented the county of Warwick in Parliament, was his son.

## E.

**PENRY AND THE "MAR-PRELATE" TRACTS** (p. 57):—We propose, in this paper, to examine more closely the case of Penry in relation to the authorship of "Martin Marprelate," than we found to be practicable in the text of the narrative.

We begin with the Lansdowne MS\* entitled "Discovery of the Authors and Printers of 'Martin Mar-prelate.'" The document has at least the merit of brevity; and, in the absence of facts, the reader

\* Lansdowne MSS. 61, 22, 21, 7. 1589.



will not be wearied with any complex statement, or elaborate forensic reasoning. "One coming to Northampton," says the writer of the MS., "was brought by his friend to Sir Richard Knightley, and was offered to see also 'Martin,' as he termed him; but he did not, because he could not stay." The anonymous visitor had no leisure, and so, the honour of solving the mystery was lost to him. We are left in uncertainty, moreover, as to the character of his informant. We know, however, that he could not be the host of Fawsley Manor, because Sir Richard "utterly disclaimed the books and denied to have any familiarity, to his knowledge with those that were the writers of them."\* We proceed, therefore, to the next paragraph in the "discovery." "One of Sir Richard Knightley's men being at wine with an acquaintance of his in London, told him, that he had then brought up from his said master, to the Earl of Hertford, a letter and a little packet of writing, or books, which, when the earl had seen, he willed the servant to tell his brother, from him, that he liked not that course; adding, as they shot at bishops now, so they will do at the nobility also, if they be suffered." This confidential messenger may be excused for his indecisive statement respecting the contents of the parcel—either "writing or books"—for he could not be expected to speak more positively without seeing them. Sir Richard Knightley admits that Penry wished to reprint his book, originally published at Oxford; and though the work contained

\* MS. in Caius Coll. Cambridge, A. 109. Sp. 206.

some severe reflections on the bishops and the unlearned ministry, he thought them only too much deserved. He must confess, that there were in the ministry some good, yet only one in forty; and in his zeal for Reformation, he consented to its being printed again, especially as it had never been called in by the authorities. He might have sent a copy of the book to the earl. The serving man, "being at wine," further told his acquaintance "that Martin was there, and went appareled in green." This piece of information, if correct, would lead us to the conclusion, that Penry was not Martin; for we are told that he went about in a long "sky-colored cloak;" and though the colour of the sky is not—in our climate—quite uniform, certainly it is never "green." Humphrey Newman, the cobbler in London, a secret disposer of the books, came in a green hat and a green coat.

"Concerning the author of these libels," we will allow the discoverer to make his own statement in full; verbatim, and without interruption. "The author, of the written copy that was taken by the Earl of Derby, taketh upon him to be the same that made the first three libels, and the title doth not vary. That this last was contrived by Penry, besides the former presumptions (namely, those of his own speeches and dealing, in providing a printer, &c., after Waldegrave, his departure), the two hands used in the same, do seem to be the one Penry's, and the other, his man's hand; as by collation of such, their writing, as have been hereafter taken may appear. The style and spirit of the man (when he is out of his scoffing vein) doth altogether

resemble such, his writing, as he hath published with his name to them. In one or two places, he mentioneth Penry as a third person. There is a slip unto the first person, as if the writer did speak of himself unawares. Dr. Some hath, something sharply, confuted Penry's fancies. Now, this writer is very long, and most bitter and virulent against him and his books. It is confessed that Penry hath said, before any of the libels came forth, that a nobleman, deceased, did encourage him to write bitterly against the bishops; and that if he were discovered, he should not be imprisoned by the commissioners, but by some others, for a fashion, and so shortly after delivered." This is the whole case against Penry, and it is well to know the grounds on which ecclesiastical historians, of a certain order, fix the imputation upon him.

The papers, it appears, were written in "two hands," the "one Penry's, and the other his man's." It is to be regretted that they are not to be found, that comparison might now be instituted. A dual character, we are led also to infer, marked these celebrated tracts. They were written partly in the "scoffing vein," and partly in the ordinary style of Penry's acknowledged publications. Now, on the supposition that the discoverer did not himself see double, we are in possession of information that may account for the duplex form of the writing.

The printer was open to communications from all quarters, and he was left, apparently, to use the manuscripts committed to him at his own discretion. A class of comic writers existed ready to avail themselves

of every scrap of fact, or sentiment, that they could turn to their purpose, either for a pamphlet or a play; the popular appetite for both was keen enough to secure pecuniary profit. Copy for the printer was thrown on his path, or left in an empty room; and secret vendors of the sheets were prepared to put them in circulation.

Udall says, with respect to the first Martin, that he was surprised to find some things that proceeded from his own report printed in it, but how they came there he never knew.\* He made various collections, and showed them to the Puritan minister, Field, and to Stephen Chatfield, the vicar of Kingston. Penry, according to one witness, in answer to the enquiry "who made Martin?" said, "that some such notes were found in Mr. Field's study, and that Mr. Field, on his death bed, wished that they should be burnt, and repented for collecting them."† It is possible, therefore, that amongst the numerous papers written by Penry, in the possession of Waldegrave, some might be used in the same way by Martin. "Penry said that Waldegrave had printed it against his will." As to the other writer, called Penry's man, we are left in utter darkness. This only we know with certainty, that his style must have been the opposite of the martyr for a line of Penry's cannot be met with in the "scoffing vein."

The allusion to the controversy with Dr. Some, by the discoverer, is singularly unfortunate, for his view

\* Chatfield in Harleian MSS., 7042.    † Sharpe in Harleian MSS., 7042.

of the case. No theological opponent was ever treated with more respect than that shown by Penry under the severest provocation, to Doctor Some. The narrative supplies the most touching instances. Equally feeble is the supposition that Penry was author of the tracts derived from the story respecting the deceased nobleman. He required no mask in writing against the bishops.

Whatever may be thought of the penetration, logic, or skill, exhibited in the paper we have just examined, it must be remembered that it was the result of extraordinary diligence.

From memoranda of a letter\* to the archbishop, in the hand of Lord Burleigh, we learn, that by the direction of the queen, he had appointed a special commission for the discovery and punishment of "Martin Mar-prelate." Bancroft was the soul of the commission, and it was worked with uncommon vigour. Spies, pursuivants, and even her Majesty's judges, were ready to aid to the utmost extent. At Kingston, where the first Martin was printed, the vicar found an opportunity to pry into Udall's papers, and reported to the authorities that he had found the original of Martin. This proved, on cooler enquiry, to be a mistake on the part of the zealous clergyman. Udall says (July 1590), "I was accused this time two years upon the words of Chatfield, that these papers that he did see in my study should be the matter of 'Martin Mar-prelate,' and because I cleared myself of that, it is now brought to prove *another* matter."

\* New Discovery, &c. p. 11.

The study of Penry, during his absence, was ransacked by Walton, the beadle, but nothing of moment was found, except the "Demonstration of Discipline". The Archbishop told Udall "that Mr. Penry made it."\* Nearly every person connected with the secret press was captured by the Earl of Derby and the pursuivants of Lambeth. The prisoners, in the power of the enemy, were anxious to obtain "remission" by disclosures that might appease them in reference to the principal object of their displeasure. They were examined privately, and the summary of their depositions was recorded in the form best suited to accomplish the purpose of the commission. Confessions extorted by fear, and so reported, are entitled to little confidence, and can have no validity as evidence.

At the trial of Udall on the charge of being the author of the "Demonstration of Discipline," the counsel for the prosecution said, in reference to one of these depositions:—"Read the answer of Nicholas Tompkins,† which was made upon his oath before her Majesty's High Commissioners. When the deposition was read, Udall said, 'My lords, I protest unto you (and will verify it upon my oath if it pleases you), that he told me, the day before I was committed at his master's house, that he could not say, neither would he, for a thousand pounds, affirm any more than that he heard me say, I would not doubt but set my name to that book if I might have indifferent judges' And further (if it please you, my lords),

\* New Discovery, p. 18.    † New Discovery. p. 12.

here are some witnesses that, upon their oaths, will testify how *diversly* he hath reported of his confession to this thing, if it please your lordships to accept them." The witnesses on presenting themselves were told that, "because their witness was against the queen's Majesty, they could not be heard."

The testimony of these men, as given on the side of the crown (adopting, as its own, the cause of the mitre), was sacred for the nonce. It would be a waste of time to analyse it minutely. No part of it seriously affects Penry. To shew that it was given "*diversly*," we may cite some of the depositions. Nicholas Tompkins, the servant of Mrs. Crane :—"Knoweth neither author, publisher, or printer, of the books of 'Mar-prelate,' certainly. Had heard some name Mr. Field, some Mr. Wigginton, others Penry, others Mr. Merbury, but who reported does not remember." Henry Sharpe, the bookbinder, was eager to communicate all he knew, in the hope of obtaining the freedom for which he had petitioned their lordships.

On a visit to a sick friend at Norton, he found some newly printed papers; and on a similar errand to his wife's relations at Woolston, "he was sorry" to find the printers at work; and had asked Penry if he thought this to be a "godly course." This is the same man who said he worked so hard, that his friends enquired why he looked so pale. He held Penry's horse, in a field, while he went to the printer's. He saw him bringing a cloak bag, containing some kind of books; and that he came to the printer's by "starts." Waldegrave said to him, "*all the ministers*

*that I have conferred with, do mislike it."* He was uncertain who corrected the press, but thought Udall. Waldegrave told him that the mill was not going, and he should no longer deal in that course, for he had gotten Cartwright's testament "against the Jesuits." Valentine Symms, one of the printers, said, that while he was at work, Throgmorton came with Penry and asked him if he could read the interlineations. Throgmorton read them distinctly, and found fault with the orthography; he then whispered into the ear of Hodgkins, and asked if the printers were good men.

The women who were examined displayed most courage. Mrs. Crane declined to answer any questions at all: she said she would not be her own hangman, and that it was against her conscience to be the accuser of others. Lady Wigston took upon herself the entire responsibility of the printing at her house. She hoped that Sir Roger would be excused, for he took no part. She was the "prime mover" in the matter; and she promoted it in her zeal for the cause of Reformation.

At the trial of Sir Richard Knightley, Mr. Hales, Sir Roger Wigston, and Lady Wigston, it was shown that Waldegrave had printed books and papers without Sir Richard's cognizance; and that Penry had applied for a place, that he might publish his own books and a work of Cartwright's. Mr. Hales said, "that he was privy that there was a press there, but nothing else. It was an easy matter for a wiser man than himself to be thus overtaken. *Penry himself was not indicted nor impeached.*"



The author\* of the "History of the 'Mar-prelate' Controversy" has admitted, with becoming candour, that no evidence was found against Penry; and Bancroft has virtually made the same admission in his "Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline."† The satirical style of the "Mar-prelate" tracts is not that of Penry. He was too closely occupied, during the course of their publication, to have leisure for writing them; and, in his connection with the press, he had always some work of his own on hand sufficient, in its importance, to account for his zeal and interest. But the case does not rest on these negative grounds alone. We have positive evidence, in all respects trustworthy, and given under circumstances that enhance our confidence in its validity. Udall and Wigginton were the intimate friends of the martyr. They met him at Mrs. Crane's and in other places, and were entrusted by him with his plans. Let us hear their testimony. Wigginton was brought up on suspicion of being the author of "Martin Mar-prelate," in December, 1588. The archbishop said to him, "There is a book, called 'Martin Mar-prelate,' a vile, seditious, and intolerable book, and you are suspected to be one of its authors, therefore you are to swear what you know concerning it."

Wigginton said, "I did neither make, write, nor print it, nor any part of it; nor see any part of it before it was printed."

Dr. Aubery (one of the Commissioners) said, "Is Mr. Penry, then, the author of the 'Demonstration' or of 'Martin Mar-prelate,'?"

\* Maskell, pp. 107-8.    † 1598, p. 427.

Wigginton replied, "I think he is not; and I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it."

Dr. Aubery said, "There are many lies in 'Martin.'"

"You must confute them," replied Wigginton.\*

In his examination on January 13, 1589, recorded by himself, Udall tells us that Lord Buckhurst entered with him into the following colloquy:—

*Lord Buckhurst.*—"I pray you tell me, know you not Penry?"

*Udall.*—"Yes, my lord, that I do."

*B.*—"And do you not know him to be 'Martin'?"

*U.*—"No, surely; neither do I think him to be Martin."

*B.*—"What is your reason?"

*U.*—"This, my lord: *When first it came out (understanding that some gave out that he was thought to be the author), he wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he did deny it, with such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.*" †

When Udall ‡ was brought up with other prisoners to receive sentence of death, Judge Puckering said, "Well, Mr. Udall, you were best to submit yourself to the queen's mercy, and leave these courses. I tell

\* MS. Register, p. 843—848. † New Discovery, p. 3.

‡ The highest value is to be attached to the testimony of Udall. In a petition to her Majesty, printed 1589, p. 25, the silenced Ministers "greatly complain that the bishops should be so unnatural as to seek the life of a right godly and faithful preacher of the Gospel. I mean Master Udall, to whom life was offered if he would but take his oath that he did not make a book whereof he was supposed to be the author—a rare example, that a man should be known standing at the bar, shackled in bolts (but *quere quo jure*) and coupled with a murderer, whose conscience was thought so faithful and sound by the judge himself, that he would not swear falsely to gain life."

you that your book is most seditious and slanderous against her Majesty and the State; and yet, I assure you, that your book had been passed over, if there had not come forth, presently after it, such a number of slanderous libels, as ‘Martin Mar-prelate,’ ‘Martin’s Epitome,’ ‘Martin, senior,’ ‘Martin, junior,’ and others, such like of which your book was judged to be the ringleader.

Udall rejoined, “My lords, those that are learned, and do maintain this cause, do judge this book to be written very indifferently (impartially), howsoever it be hardly construed; but for ‘Martin,’ and the rest of those books that you have named, *they were never approved by the godly learned; and I am fully persuaded, that those books were not done by any minister; and I think there is never a minister in this land that doth know who ‘Martin’ is*; and I, for my part, have been inquisitive, but I could never learn who is.”

Notwithstanding this review of the matter, many will feel reluctant to acquit Penry of participation in the authorship of the “Martin Mar-prelate” tracts, from the circumstance that by so many historians he is directly charged with writing them. No evidence is adduced; and rarely do those, who associate his name, deign to refer to any authority for their statements. D’Israeli, in his “Miscellanies of Literature,” says:—  
“We could hardly have imagined, that this eloquent and serious young man was that ‘Martin Mar-prelate’ who so long played the political ape before the populace, with all the mummary of their low buffoonery, and even mimicking their own idioms.” The authority

quoted by D'Israeli is Matthew Sutcliffe, in his answer to Throgmorton's letter. On referring to the work in question, published in 1595, we find that Sutcliffe has no ground for the imputation, except that of the evidence we have already examined. He had a notion that famous tract must have been the work of "three Johns." "Noble 'Martin,'" he tells us, "was John Penry, John Udall, and John Field." This threefold theory was convenient; for, according to his humour and when writing against any one of them in particular, he did not scruple to make the authorship of the work the principal subject of his bitter invective. He did not feel himself, however, bound by his hypothesis, when it suited his purpose to vary the conjecture; for, in answer to Job Throgmorton, he says:—"If *Mr. Throgmorton* made that work, which is called 'More Work,' then he is, doubtless, 'Martin Mar-prelate'; for the author of that book doth, in plain terms, confess that *he* is 'Martin Mar-prelate.'"

Throgmorton earnestly disclaimed the work:—"Touching 'Martin,'" he replies, "whatsoever it pleaseth Mr. Sutcliffe to say, I hope those that are in authority, and M. Sutcliffe's betters, are sufficiently persuaded of mine innocency that way; and seeing the gentleman hath given himself a commission to speak his pleasure of my betters, there is good reason that so mean a man as I should allow him a little to speak *per hyperbolea*, or *licentia poetica*. As for myself, and his charge of Martinism—if Mr. Sutcliffe were the man that never told untruth in his life, I could easily in this case, if need were, make some advanta

of him for my clearance and defence. For though, in one of his queries, he lay all upon me, I thank him—these protestations, dialogues, &c.,—all (and, to speak the truth, he may as well all, as one—yet, in his better mood, when it may be he had slept better all night, he frankly clearerth me again, disburdening me of that charge (fixing it on John Penry, John Udall, and John Field) ; as for me, he doth but bring me in at the latter end as a candle holder, and no more ; indeed, I am not, in regard to some of those reverend men. But because I am to render accompt of my doings before other manner of men than M. Sutcliffe, seeing an oath (as the Apostle saith) ought to be the end of all strife, I will, for my final clearing therein (whensoever it shall be so thought good by the State), willingly take this oath, as I have before offered—to wit—that I am not ‘Martin,’ that I know not ‘Martin,’ and concerning that I stand indicted of, I am as clear as the child unborn.”

The application of the term “reverend men,” by Throgmorton, to the martyrs Udall and Penry, in the estimation of Sutcliffe, was conclusive of his guilt. He was, at least, accessory after the fact. “All men” he says, “will henceforth take Throgmorton for the mazed fellow that was the author of ‘Martin,’ and judge him worthy of the reward of his fellow Penry.”

## F.

“SYMPATHY OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND WITH ENGLISH PURITANS (p. 58):—In the minutes of the

acts of the General Assembly, for 1590, we find the following :—

“ It is ordained that the brethren recommend to God, in their public and private supplications, the afflicted brethren in England, for the confession of the purity of religion.”

The address of the moderator betrays great anxiety for the safety of the kirk. A secret committee was appointed to watch the proceedings of the agents employed by Bancroft in different parts of Scotland, and to report, without delay, any occurrences that might demand special attention. Correspondence was intercepted; and several persons were apprehended who had promoted the designs of the rival national establishment. Ecclesiastical matters were extremely complicated; and the king played the double part most suited to his natural disposition. Interest was felt in the sufferings of Udall, excited, we may justly infer, from the silent influence of Penry. “ On Friday, 11th June, 1591,” we are told by Calderwood, “ a letter (was purchased) by my Lord Lindsay and Mr. R. Bruce to the Queen of England, in favour of Mr. Udall, an English preacher, in prison at the instance of the bishops. The letter was penned by Mr. George Young as followeth :—

“ Right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin :—

“ In our heartiest manner, we recommend us to you. Hearing of the apprehension of Mr. Udall, of whose good condition and fruitful travels in the kirk, we have

a very credible commend, howsoever that his diversity from the bishops and others of your clergy, in matters touching him in conscience, have been a mean, by their delation to work him your disliking at this present. We cannot (weighing the duty we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in their profession) but, by our most effectuous and earnest letter, request you most earnestly, that for our cause and intercession it may please you to let him be relieved of his present strait; and whatsoever further accusation or pursuit depending on that ground, respecting both his former merit in the forth setting of the Evangel, the simplicity of his conscience in this defence, which cannot be thirled by compulsion, and the great slander which could not fail to fall out upon his farther straiting for any such occasion. We assure us, your zeal to religion, besides the expectation we have of your good will to pleasure us, will move you willingly to accord to our request, having such proofs, from time to time, of our like disposition to you in any matters ye recommend unto us. And thus, right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to God's good protection. From Edinburgh, the twelfth day of June, 1591." The Scottish historian adds, " This letter was not delivered."

Mr. Udall, however, himself says:—" A letter came from the King of Scotland, to a Scottish merchant, one Mr. Johnson, living in London, to be delivered to her Majesty (as was said), being written in my behalf, as he had done once before, when I was close prisoner; this letter did the merchant deliver to her Majesty.

Afterward, Mr. Johnson had the copy of the king's letter sent unto him, which then appeared to be written not for me alone, but also for the rest of my brethren, the ministers in prison."

## G.

SCHEME OF PURITAN REFORMATION (p. 82.):—  
Utopian as the plans of Penry, under the circumstances seem to be, it is remarkable, that, within sixty years, a commission was appointed to carry them into practical effect. An Act of Parliament was passed Feb. 22, 1649, to continue for three years from the 25th of March, 1650, "for better propagation and preaching the Gospel in Wales; ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters; and redress of some grievances."\* One of the Commissioners under this act was apprehended, about ten years before, at a religious meeting held in Brecknockshire. Locked up, at ten o'clock, with fifty or sixty of his congregation, in the parish church (with the constables for better security), he preached to them, at midnight, from the words of Christ—"Fear not them which kill the body." In the course of events, we find him preaching before the Lord Mayor of London, and then to the House of Commons, with Penry's fervour; but, judging from his printed discourses, not with equal ability. Truth gained little, however, by the Parliamentary commission; and the progress of religious freedom was only embarrassed by

\* Scobell, p. 104.



the attempt to evangelize the people by State authority. Vavasor Powell, the minister referred to—though an earnest and benevolent man—was greatly opposed to toleration; and, in ejecting scandalous ministers, he awakened many bitter resentments; the effect of which was felt severely when the temporary ascendancy of physical-force Puritans was followed by violent reaction. Several polemical pamphlets were written against the “Gospel postmasters,” as they were called, too scurrilous for quotation. The friends of the Reformers wrote in their defence in terms of unqualified eulogy, and met the charges of their opponents by counter statements. The title page of one or two of these missives may suffice to show their character:—One is entitled, “*Mercurius Cambro Brittannico, or News from Wales, touching the Glorious and Miraculous Propagation of the Gospel in these parts; being a Clear Discovery and Manifestation of the late-invented Trade, Tith-gathering, therein, &c.*” “These saints,” says the writer, “have a certain pious wawle in the pulpit, but out of it they are all clutch and claw. The gent would fain make you believe that this propagation in Wales will last long; and, therefore, recites his creed and certain proposals, tending to bring in the like propagation all England over. Well done, Mr. Valsavor! will not the tithes of Wales serve you and your friends, but you must creep into England?” A second pamphlet, in reply, is called “*Vavasoris Examen et Purgamen, or Mr. Vavasor’s Powell’s impartiall triall, who, being apprehended upon the late hue and cry raised after him, hath appealed to God and his country, and is*

found not guilty; or the thanks of the Welsh Itinerants, for their previous New Year's gift (being a chain of blue beads, above an hundred lyes on a string), lately sent them by their namelesse, truthless, and shameless benefactor; wherein the calumniator's monstrous draught is expurged, and Mr. Powell drawn out in his proper colours, &c." The tone of Mr. Powell's defenders was not the most calm and moderate; yet, as coming from the elders of his church, and others who knew him intimately, this tract is not without its value. They say:—"We, that had as deep a prejudice against him as any could, have been taught, by experience, this better character of him. He is a man in whose bodily temperature the nobler elements of fire and air have the predominancy, as the rushing and mighty wind and the cloven-tongued fire have in his mental temperature, which carry him above earthly interests towards his celestial centre. He hath a body of steel, made, as of purpose, for his never-resting and indefatigable spirit, which might, ere this, have worn out ordinary cases with his extraordinary motion and agitation. His idle sermonlesse day is his sick day. His labours are his recreations, and there is no time more burdensome than while he is from under the burden. He hath a heart that fears none but Him that is to be feared for His mercy, and that loves none but Christ, and those that carry some price of his beauty; and yet hates none but them that hate love itself.

"There are many servants of God in Wales, that can say of him (as Paul does unto himself), that though

they may have many teachers, yet they have not many fathers in Christ. He hath been a daily miner at the works of Christ about fourteen years, and we are confident there is not this day, in England, a labourer of his time that can shew more right silver ore of his own raising, than he hath gotten out of these Welsh mines."

The good Parliamentary commissioner and evangelist must not be held responsible for these verbal extravagancies, no more than any who have the misfortune, in our own time, to be overwhelmed with grandiloquent praise of the same order. His own writings are plain, forcible, and scriptural, and we receive our best impression from them. At the same time we repeat, that his reforming measures, as enforced by State authority, were not on the whole beneficial. Abuses, no doubt, were corrected with a firm hand; but the germ of future evils was deposited in the act of eradication. The brethren of the separation it was who preserved the spark of religious liberty, even in the days of the Commonwealth. Very interesting it is to find the old church in Deadman's place, formed by Henry Jacob, resisting the arbitrary measures of the "Directory," and maintaining their right to choose their own pastors, and to conduct worship in accordance with their convictions, irrespective of any regulations to the contrary imposed by the "Assembly of Divines." STEPHEN MORE, in counselling his flock to stand firm in this Thermopylæ of Christian freedom, says: "If any profess themselves ministers of the Lord Jesus, and you would know whether they be Christ's or Antichrist's

ministers, ask for their genealogy, and let them shew their line from Juda, not from Levi; I mean, from Christ and not from men, whether Pope or Presbyter; for our Lord took care of this concern, when he spent forty days with His disciples in settling the things of His kingdom. Consult diligently your CHARTER, the New Testament; provide for the cross, and be neither afraid nor ashamed of it. If the churches of Christ should not have the power to give the being and ordination to their own servants and ministers without dependance on others, then should the power and privileges of Christ's churches be less than of civil corporations, or private families, which were absurd to imagine. Not to grant this to every individual and particular church and congregation, were to maintain that Christ's churches are in bondage, and not free states, or politic bodies, which were derogatory both to Christ and to His church."

Sheltered in their obscurity, and kept from ecclesiastical broils by the simplicity of their aim, these humble confessors of truth and freedom outlived the storm that swept away the extemporaneous institutions framed by officious and political divines. The persecuted Presbyterians, on the accession of Charles II, found a welcome amongst them. Baxter preached six months to them at Deadman's place,\* after the death of his friend Thomas Wadsworth, a native of Southwark. Writing to Eliot, "7—22, 1668," the author of the "Saint's Rest" says†:—"The restraint of other

\* The church removed from Deadman's Place to a chapel in Union Street, first gateway from High Street, in 1787.    † Baxter's MSS.

meetings occasioneth the private assemblies in England to be now ordered just like the congregational way, or rather as the old Separatists, in many places."

## H.

**BROWNISTS: WHY THE SEPARATISTS SO CALLED** (p. 82):—The Separatists earnestly repudiated all relation to Browne; but their opponents were resolved to fix his name upon them as a stigma. Robert Abbott, in his "Triall of our Church Forsakers; or a Meditation tending to still the Passions of Unquiet Brownists," says: "There are others who would be accounted truly religious who forsake the assembling of ourselves together; and these have a name of pride, and a name of justice. The name of pride which they take to themselves is SEPARATISTS. They read, sometimes, in the Scriptures of Separation; especially when Paul saith (according to the prophet) 'come out from among, and be ye separate;' and will needs glory in the name of Separatists. Their name of justice is Brownists—though they love not to hear of—because Browne, after his platform of a new way of advancing Christ's kingdom—upon wiser thoughts—returned from them. It is most true, that they are loth to acknowledge the name of Browne; and they tell us, that they will have their name from Scriptures—not from men—and will be called, "*they of the Separation.*"

John Huss, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, had to vindicate himself, in the same way, from the imputation of being a mere proselyte of Wickliffe.

In his "Responsio ad Scripta Mag. Stephani Paletz," he says ("Hist. et Monum, 1, p. 330") :—"Ego enim fateor, quod sententias veras, quas M. Joan. Wicliff; posuit, teneo, non quia ipse dicit, sed quia ipse dicit, sed quia divina Scriptura, vel ratio infallibilis dicit. Si autem aliquem errorem posuerit, nec ipsum, nec quemcunque alium intendo in errore, quantumlibet modice, imitari."

Zwingle says : "Les grands de la terre mettant au ban la doctrine de Christ et cherchent á la rendre odieuse en y attachent le nom de Luther; n'importe qui la preche, ils *l'accusent d'etre Lutherien*. Et c'est ce qui m'arrive avant que personne dans notre contrée eût seulement entendu le nom de Luther, j'ai commencé à prêcher l'Evangile c'était en 1516. Dieu nous confie, comme il le trouve bon, un champ plus vaste on plus borné; mais je n'en porterai pas moins aucun autre nom celui de mon chef, Jesus Christ."

## I.

JOHN UDALL (p. 84.) :—The case of Udall was deeply affecting. From various original notes, written by him, we select the following; addressed

"To the Honourable Serjeant Puckering, one of the Justices of Assize for the County of Surrey :—

"May it please your lordship to vouchsafe me your lawful favour in a matter which may be very comfortable unto me, and, I trust, offensive to none.

"Seeing it pleaseth God so to dispose of me as I have been almost a year in prison, and am likely, for

anything that I can divine, still to continue, I do find such sickness of body approach upon me, by reason of corrupt air and want of exercise, as must needs endanger, if not take away my life outright, unless it please God to move your L. with compassion towards me. Besides this, I have been so long deprived of the holy exercises of religion, as I find myself much vexed and grieved; and my soul to hunger after the same, as the hunted hart desireth the water brooks—wishing that some corner of the church were my prison, and deeming (with the prophet David) the birds happy that build in the roof of that place where they hear the voice of God sounding in the words of His prophets, and His praises coming, as holy harmony, from their mouths. In regard whereof I humbly crave of your L., if it would please the sheriff to grant me this much favour, that, with your good liking, I may go *with my keeper* to sermons which are in the Borough, for the comfort of my soul; and into the fields to take the air for the relief of my body; so shall I not only acknowledge myself bound unto you for a special benefit, but also be bound to pray unto God to recompense it seven-fold unto your bosom, with His favour from above. Thus hoping it will please you to vouchsafe me so reasonable a suit, I humbly take my leave.

“ From the White Lyon, Jan. 1, 1590.

“ Your Lordship’s to command,  
in the Lord Jesus Christ,

“ JOHN UDALL,\* Prisoner.”

\* Mr. Baker, writing to a friend, says, “ Perhaps I have said too much in favour of Udall; yet, when you have perused the papers, you will have com-

## J.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS (p. 84):—"Sir Francis Knollys to Lord Burleigh:—

"My very good Lord:—I do forbear to come unto you presently for lack of full strength, and partly to avoid your trouble from being cumbered with my weak body. Yet I cannot but signify this much unto you in writing, that I do marvel how her Majesty can be persuaded that she is in as much danger of such as are called Puritans, as she is of the Papists; and yet her Majesty cannot be ignorant that the Puritans are not able to change the government of the church but only by petition at her Majesty's hands. And yet her Majesty cannot do it, but she must call a Parliament for it; and no Act can pass thereof, unless her Majesty shall give her royal assent thereunto. And—as touching their seditious going about the same—if the bishops, or my Lord Chancellor, or any for them, could have proved, *de facto*, that Cartwright and his fellow prisoners had gone about any such matters seditiously, then Cartwright and his followers had been HANGED

passion for him; and though, as you say, it ("The Demonstration, &c.") is intolerable, yet, surely, it did not deserve so hard a sentence. Had it been wrote in this age, it might have been thought wrote with tolerable modesty. I dare say he would not have suffered much by it. I am sure his life had never been in danger.

Mr. Cole, a brother clergyman, commenting on this expression of honourable feeling, says—"I must confess that Mr. Baker's moderation in this instance borders upon singularity and affectation. Mr. Strype was no high-flyer, yet saw the necessity of curbing this man. They should have begun with Cartwright, and dealt roundly with him at first; but by moderation and delay, his doctrine got root to the eternal disturbance of this Church and State ever since."—[Additional MSS, 5835, p. 205.]

By dealing roundly, the valiant Mr. Cole means putting him to death. But in charging Whitgift with excess of moderation, he goes rather too far



before this time. But her Majesty must keep a form of justice as well against Puritans as any other subjects, so that they may be tried in time convenient, whether they be suspected of sedition or treason, or whatsoever name you shall give unto it, being Puritanism or otherwise.

“The 9th of Jan. 1591 (1591-2).”\*

If the bishops failed to prove, *de facto*, that the Puritans were guilty of sedition, it was not from want of perseverance or ingenuity in the collection of evidence.

We have examined the original documents connected with the proceedings, against Cartwright and his coadjutors, in the Star Chamber, and can testify to the torturing minuteness of the judicial scrutiny. Yards of parchment, endorsed by Popham, are filled with searching interrogations. As a specimen of these legal racks for the conscience, we subjoin the following:—In reference to the casuistical difficulties of Edward Snape, the Puritan minister of Northampton, the inquisitor asks—“Did not the same Snape say and affirm, unto you, or in your hearing, that he himself had been in that perplexity; that, rather than he would have stood by virtue of any of his orders, he would have been hung upon the gallows, or words to that effect?”

“Interrogatory, No. 33, is to the following effect:—“Have any of the defendants, to your knowledge, or as you have heard by any means, impugned, spoken,

\* Lansdowne MSS, Vol. lxvi. Art 53.

or opposed themselves against the actual Government form of Common Prayer and manner of administration of sacraments, rites, or ceremonies, or any of them, exercised in this realm by her Majesty's authority—when?—where?—and in what points was the same done, and by whom?"

With respect to publications, it was demanded:—"What books or pamphlets have you known to be devised, compiled, or written against the government of the Church of England by archbishops and others under her Majesty's authority. By whom?—when?—and where were the same made, compiled and devised?"

In a list of "Interrogations to be administered on the behalf of Thomas Cartwright, &c.," we find the following:—"Item.—Have you known or understood that any of the defendants have, in their conference or otherwise, allowed or favoured the schismatics commonly called Brownists, or Barrowists; or have you not understood that they have advised how they might recover such as had been drawn away by them from the unity and communion of our church, and to stay in it such as were sought to be seduced from it?"

Some of these Puritan worthies regarded it as a sort of duty to tell all they knew, and especially about the poor Separatists. If anything could save them, it would be the offering of tangible evidence to convict those who had absolutely left the fold. Yet it is remarkable that nothing was ever deduced, even by such means, fairly to implicate Penry—except what was deemed to be seditious in his own openly acknowledged writings. One of the deponents was examined from six o'clock

in the morning until seven in the evening. The original papers, containing the answers, are still extant and, being rolled in bundles, are almost as fresh as when first written.

PETITION OF THE PURITAN MINISTERS (p. 84):—

The following petition, endorsed “May, 1592—The humble request from certain imprisoned ministers and preachers,” is interesting in the original, as subscribed by the leading Puritans:—

“To the Right Honourable, and our very good Lord, the Lo: Burghley, L. High Treasurer of England.

“Right Honourable:—Most humbly do we sue to your lordship, for your honour's favour to relieve our exceeding heavy and distressed estate; as most dutiful subjects to a chief father of this Commonwealth; as men trained up in the schools of learning to one sometime nourished in one of the universities; and now, both by affection and calling, an honourable patron of the same; and, as ministers of the Gospel, to him whom only the times of the Gospel have honoured, and of whom the Gospel hath received both protection and honour. It may please your L. to understand, that (we know not upon what secret misinformations to some of her Majesty's ecclesiastical commissioners) most of our houses have been warded by officers; our studies, books, and private papers, rifled by pursuivants; our persons attacked and convented before some of her Majesty's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes. Further, also, by them, we were required to take an

oath, as they call it, of inquisition, or office, by which indefinite and general oath we should bind ourselves to answer all things that should be demanded of us. For answer whereunto, we humbly prayed that such favour might be extended to us as, by the Word of God, is due to the ministers of the same; by which Word they are not to be proceeded against but upon accusation, and the same confirmed by testimony of two or three witnesses. Moreover, also, we prayed such favour as belongeth to dutiful subjects by the law of this land. By which law, this proceeding is declared to be such, as the most expert and best learned cannot escape the danger of captious interrogatories of it; that it standeth not with the right order of justice, or good equity, and encourageth untrue accusations and presentments, which might be maliciously conspired and kept secret—unrevealed until time might be espied to have men thereof by malice convicted; and, therefore, forbiddeth that any subject should be put to answer, but upon accusations and presentments taken in open and manifest courts, by the oaths of twelve men. For these and other important causes, enforcing our consciences thereunto, we made our humble and earnest suit to be respected with so much favour, as not to be urged with that oath. Yet, for not taking of it, we have been committed to prison, and kept there, some for half a year, which is the least time that any of us have so continued; some for much longer space; and a great part of the same time in strait and close imprisonment, to the dangerous decay of our health, and the overthrow of

our poor estate. In which time the most of us have twice made our humble suit by writing, under our hands, to the said commissioners, protesting our innocence in the things suggested against us; and that the not taking the oath required proceedeth not, in us, from any contempt of authority (in reverence and obedience whereunto, we desire to be examples unto others), but of fear to take the name of God in vain, and to ensnare our consciences in binding ourselves thereby to the doing of anything which God hath forbidden. Notwithstanding which, our humble suit, besides our so long and close imprisonment, we have all, save one, been deprived of our livings, and disgraced of our ministry, and yet are restrained of our liberty, without any limitation, as if we had committed things worthy perpetual imprisonment. Wherefore we have now at last advised to present our lamentable distress unto the gracious consideration of our dread sovereign, the last refuge, under God, of afflicted subjects.

“Notwithstanding that not only we and our cause are become offensive to her Highness, through hard reports made against us, but also seeing the issue of these our miseries proveth hurtful to the growth of religion, and dangerous to the whole State, by animating the malicious enemies of both, we thought it our bounden duty to God, her excellent Majesty, and the State, behovefull also unto our own private peace, to move your Ho.; and upon our knees, in the presence of the living and glorious God, to beseech you (in your accustomed wisdom and care)

to weigh our case, and, according to the equity and important consequence thereof, to become an honourable means for us, unto our most gracious and sovereign prince. That her Highness' displeasure being appeased, she may, in her accustomed clemency, understanding our case, vouchsafe us her gracious relief.

"Thus shall we, your humble supplicants, as for all other blessings enjoyed by your wise and provident eye in the watch of this renowned kingdom, under our gracious and sovereign Queen, so, for this, the more abundantly praise the Lord for your H. and continue our daily prayers unto Almighty God for the preservation of the same in much honour to the good of this country, in the prosperity of the Church of God therein, and your own everlasting comfort.

"Your honour's most humble suppliants, prisoners—

"Daniel Wyght,

Andrew King

Thomas Cartwright,

John Payne,

Edward Lord,<sup>3</sup>

Humfrey Fen,<sup>1</sup>

Melancthon Jewell,

Edm. Snape."<sup>2</sup>

Willm. Proudlove,<sup>4</sup>

Lord Burleigh's "wise and provident eye" watched for an opportunity to serve the petitioners. He suggested the proper time to renew their application; and ultimately obtained, on prudential conditions, their release from prison.

1, Minister at Coventry. 2, Minister at Northampton. 3, Vicar of Woolston. 4, Vicar of Fawsley.

## K.

LETTER OF HENRY BARROWE (p. 92):—A letter of Henry Barrowe's, written December 1590, and addressed to Mr. Fisher, will show the distressed condition of the Separatists at this period.

It is possible that some mitigation of their sufferings might have been afforded at the time of Penry's arrival in Southwark—some reviving in their bondage—but it was of short continuance. The letter is interesting from the allusion it contains to "old Mr. Crane." We cannot ascertain, with certainty, whether Mrs. Crane, of Mouldsey, was widow of the preacher. She lived in London before she removed to Surrey. Mr. Crane was formerly minister of Roehampton, in Surrey, and died in Newgate, 1588.

"Sir:—I understand that the prisoners lately exhibited a supplication to her Majesty; and how, through the great providence of God, it was delivered to her own hands, and most graciously received of her; and, indeed, escaped the hands of her Master of Requests for that time, whose custom it is to suppress all such complaints from her Highness' eyes. Yet, howsoever it is come about, I certainly think that either it, or the report thereof, is brought to the archbishop, who wanteth not his intelligencers in all places.

"He, belike, being taught in his guilty conscience, and fearing his barbarous and lawless proceedings should now be brought to light, seeketh (as you, by his schedule in here enclosed, shall perceive) to suppress the same by all strict and subtle means. Making

and warning his gaolers, by extraordinary favour and entertainment, to give up a favourable, if not a partial certificate, of the prisoners living and dead; and so, peradventure, thinketh to disprove the supplication unto her Majesty, and through his false informations and suggestions, according to his evil custom and conscience, to abuse and incense her most excellent Majesty, and stir her up against us her harmless subjects; except that God, who hath brought our cause before her, shall also bring forth our innocency as the noon light; and He that hath thus wonderfully began to discover their tyrannous practices, shall not cease to lay them open, and make them odious to every eye and heart. God shall, and hath given unto her Majesty's royal heart, wisdom to search out the truth of this matter. Only the Lord vouchsafe we be not condemned unheard upon these accusations and informations. There was, we hear, an article in their supplication of above sixty souls imprisoned by the bishops. Here, peradventure, they will catch hold, because there be not now, I suppose, fifty in prison; but they have committed above eighty; whereof many, through their tyranny, have revolted and denied their faith, and so were discharged. Sundry, through great straits, being starved to the death or otherwise, obtained bail until times prefixed, who yet are prisoners; and sundry have died in their prisons of famine, cold, noisomeness of the place, and beating in their prisons, &c. The rest, as you may perceive, are in most extreme misery, want, and penury, in all the prisons, as the gaolers cannot



deny. We hear that the archbishop maketh enquiry at the Gatehouse, Clink, and Katherine's\*, how many of them have died; there being, I ween, a clause in the suppl. that the coroner sat not upon such of us as died in prison; which was very true. Myself being in Newgate, there was no jury or inquest suffered to sit upon that rare young man Rich. Jackson, who there died. I demanded the cause, as I think M. Deux himself told me that the Bishop of London commanded the contrary. The like was of the two aged poor widows that died there; as also upon old Mr. Crane there was no inquest called, or suffered to sit and pass upon their bodies, though it were required. This, there are many credible witnesses to verify. The coroner's book, if it be searched, will make all plain. Further, they would not suffer the body of this ancient grave preacher and father, Mr. Cr., to be carried to burial into the city through Newgate, lest the people, who know his virtue and godliness, should espy it, and abhor their cruelty. There likewise died in Bridewell a very godly person, called John Pardie, committed by the archbishop; who they there put into their "Little Ease," and beat with a great cudgel very extremely, because he would not come to their chapel in their house. The man was grave, sober, and very godly, and honest, as to be well testified of all that know him. If law might be looked upon, these cases are foul. I omit to relate here how many Dr. Stanhope hath cast into irons in Newgate; and of the boy, of 15 years old, he there

\* The prison connected with St. Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower.

kept in a dungeon, in irons, a whole year, for this cause, which boy is yet there prisoner. But the Arch B dealeth wisely, and sendeth not to Bridewell, Newgate, the two Counters, the White Lyon, nor the Fleet. He mindeth to post all these things over to the civil magistrate. Yet, even in the Clink and the Gatehouse, will, upon due examination, be found six poor men whom the B of London hath held in the holes of these prisons now more than three whole years and 3 months, without so much as sending for them forth to any trial or examination to any place all this while. The cause why he committed them, and sundry others (six of whom died in the Counter, Poultry, others there sickened to the death) was, for hearing a piece of the New Testament read, and truly expounded in one of their houses upon a Lord's day. Well, notwithstanding all these injuries, you see the archbishop is so enraged, and hath set a day of Pur, if God, by our noble Esther, prevent him not. He hath destined my brother Greenwood and me to the death, against his holy feast. All the others, both at liberty and elsewhere, to close prison; their poor wives and children to be cast out of the city; their few goods to be confiscated. Is not this a Christian bishop? Are these the virtues of him that taketh upon him the care and government of all the churches of England, thus to tear and devour Christ's poor sheep, to rend off the fleece, and break their bones and chop them in pieces as flesh to the cauldron? Will he thus instruct and convince the gainsayers? (So now) he will persuade but few, that fear God, to his religion by this dealing; and evil provideth he for his own

credit, or the honour of his prince, that maketh this tyrannous havoc. (So now) for our parts, our lives are not dear unto us, so we may finish up our testimony with joy. We are always ready, through God's grace; to be offered up upon that testimony of our faith which we have made, and purpose to embrace, the chief pillars of their church, and carry them with us to the grave, if there be no remedy; but they will take this barbarous course with us which shall but hasten their own judgment. As the case standeth we see no remedy, being thus pent up, but to commit our cause and lives unto the Lord. Means to send to any we have not, having none but these poor simple creatures to come near us. We dare not solicit the nobleman you know of any further. Yet he knoweth our cause, godly purpose, and innocency—no man better. The Lord incline his heart to plead the cause of the children of destruction. Thus tediously I have scribbled unto you our present estate, recording as I hear. Craving your friendly counsel and advice what you think next to be done in these extremities, and with as much speed as you can. Committing you as ourselves to the Lord, in whom we salute you.

“Your poor friend, whose scribbling fast you know, and I doubt shall hardly read,

“H. BARROWE.

“To Mr. Fisher, Dec. 1590.”

L.

THE BADGE OF TRUTH (p. 97):—see Appendix H. “Satan,” Penry says, “hath been a marvellous cunning

rhetorician this way; there hath been no truth brought to light, but he hath taken pains to paint it out for Zwinglianism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Brownism, &c." The entire pamphlet is worthy of re-publication. The history of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, so often perverted for high church purposes, is admirably turned against the abettors of ecclesiastical tyranny. "The archbishops and bishops of this land, who enter into conspiracy against Jesus Christ, whereby they, being foreign officers and strangers from the house of God, by virtue of these offices do yet presume to arrogate the government of His house into their own hands, and to take up weapons against Him and His servants that would restore Him unto His own possession, are greater rebels, and guilty of a greater sin against the majesty of God, than were Corah, Dathan, and Abiram and their company: and those who continue, and have ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, are guilty of a high sin, and should expect a more fearful hand of God over them, than those who remained in the tents of Corah, &c. Nor is the conspiracy of Anti-christ and his members to be thought more tolerable than that of Corah's, because the Lord pleadeth not against the same with His visible judgments from heaven, as he did against the other; but we are rather to learn, that what the Lord effected, under the Law, by His visible judgments, or other outward means, being the rudiments of the world, as the Apostle calleth the things of this nature, the very same doth the Lord accomplish, under the Gospel, against the Son of Perdition; and his body by the Spirit of His mouth; that

is, by His mighty Word and the operation thereof." The sentiment that "*No truth can be traitorous unto the State of any Prince or Potentate,*" is very characteristic of Penry.

## M.

KINDNESS OF THE GAOLER (p. 126):—There is an autograph note of Mr. Gittens, in the State Paper Office. In a letter from a Puritan minister to Lord Burleigh, we find a similar instance of kind consideration. The good man says:—"My keeper having used me lovingly, as well for the liking he hath of this religion (a thing to be rejoiced at in a man of his calling), as also for the honourable good will which it hath pleased your Lordship to declare, hath, this last week (not without some secret word from the right hon. Mr. Secretary)—considering the long absence from my poor wife, in a weak state, and that I might once see my first child about twelve weeks old, whatsoever should befall it—given me leave to go down secretly for one day, which I did, in the closest manner, to my father-in-law's, in Essex. It pleased God that Mr. Ford, advocate against me in Court, should see me: he hath complained to the bishop, and he threateneth to complain to the queen, that my keeper may have displeasure. O, my lord, I most humbly crave your lordship's favour, that both I may be delivered from such unpitiful hands, and especially that your lordship will stand good lord unto my keeper, that he be not discouraged from favouring those who profess true religion

and most worthily reverence her Majesty's state, and your lordship as an excellent pillar of it, whom I pray God most happily to keep.

"From the Gatehouse.

"Your Lordship's most bound,

"ROBERT WRIGHT."

#### N.<sup>1</sup>

JENKIN JONES (p. 134):—"When John Penry lurked here and there like a fox, yet was he never so closely hid but that Throgmorton knew where he was, as doth appear by the deposition of Jenkin Jones; who, by his means, found him in a certain odd ale-house, eighteen miles from Fawsley."—*Sutcliffe's Answer*, p. 73.

There was a respectable family, of this name, living in Breconshire in Penry's time. This may furnish a clue to further local research as to the connections of the martyr.

#### N.<sup>2</sup>

MEMORIAL OF THE CHURCH TO THE LORD MAYOR—THE MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES—PROPOSALS FOR CONFERENCE (p. 166):—"In the eventful and "mournful month" on which Barrowe and Greenwood suffered death, the "faithful brethren" were not inactive. Their means and opportunities for exertion were grievously restricted; nevertheless, a representation of their case was

made to the authorities, of a kind that throws the clearest light on their integrity and loyalty. A manifesto was hastily drawn up, entitled "*A Treatise containing Motives touching Mercy and Unity, sent by a few of those people who are falsely and maliciously called Brownists.*"

The document is in two parts; the first of which was put in circulation while the other was being written, to save time. The reader will not expect, in a memorial written under such disadvantages, the freedom from defects to be secured only with sufficient leisure, and the absence of serious distraction; but the very imperfections of the paper will have an interest to those who have sympathy with the men and their principles. We shall give the appeal, therefore, as we find it.

It is endorsed with an earnest call to immediate attention: "For Christ's sake, for Queen Elizabeth's, for England's sake, and for your own sakes, peruse it, and neglect it not."

"If the confession of offence against her Majesty, in some faults escaped in those books, and the suffering of death for it by the two principal doers, may be found sufficient punishment, in conscience, for the quality of those faults, the Lord grant that none may dissuade her Highness from her wonted mercy; but that some may have will and power to persuade her Grace to pardon all former offences in these points; and it shall be a warning to us all to look better unto that which our pens lay down (*quia litera scripta manet*); and we shall also be the more bound to praise our God, and to pray unto Him for her Majesty's most

long and prosperous reign, and the present and everlasting comfort of her soul and body.

“To the most honourable and worshipful Magistrates of our most merciful sovereign lady, Queen Elizabeth, in their several places (specially her Highness’ most honourable Privy Council in their dignities, the reverend Judges in their seats, the right honourable the Lord Mayor of London, and the worshipful Justices in their rooms). To all, and every of them, abundance of heavenly wisdom be multiplied:—

“In most humble and lamentable manner, beseech your honours and worships, a few of the poor people falsely and maliciously called Brownists, in behalf of ourselves at liberty, and more than threescore prisoners now shut up in the several gaols and prisons of this most noble city; that whereas all the books, letters, writings, examinations, and speeches of any particular person, or of the whole congregation, are undoubtedly known to be quite contrary to infidels, papists, and atheists; and whereas none can prove that we hold any heresy or maintain any filthiness amongst us (the thought whereof we thank our God we abhor); and lastly, whereas we do here protest before His Heavenly Majesty (who knoweth all secrets) that we heartily desire the glory of God to shine more and more in this nation by increase of true holiness and godliness in all the people thereof, even with entire and fervent love to Him, our queen, and one another; together with the abundant peace, plenty, and prosperity of our country, and all this under the long and most blessed government of our



dread and sovereign lady and queen, Elizabeth, to Melchisedeck's age, if such be His good pleasure—(whose princely spirit and body we pray that He will refresh or renew as he doth the eagle's bill). It may therefore please your honours and worships, for God's sake, to encrease all charitable thoughts of us, and to be merciful unto us as our heavenly Father is merciful, and as our noble queen doth plentifully daily imitate Him therein. Hereof we have late experience by her Highness prolonging our dear Mr. Barrowe's and Mr. Greenwood's life\* when the instruments and streets, and flowers, and grave of death were all prepared, and they both ready (as they had lived together like two turtles) to yield up their spirits together, like two lambs, in all meekness and obedience.

“ Now blessed be our God for such a ruler of His people. Let them deeply repent or perish for ever, that once seek one drop of her blood, or piece of her land, or blemish to her renown. What is our chief request in this introduction ?

“ Having two or three motions concerning **MERCY**, and more touching **UNITY**, whereby we verily hope that this controversy shall be sooner taken up—we most humbly beseech you to hearken unto them with patience, and then to favour them so far as they shall be found godly, lawful and convenient.

“ \* Whereas we speak of her Majesty's imitation of God in mercy, in which some might consider us as liars or flatterers, that we say—we are persuaded that their reprieve, as from her Highness, was in mercy ; and that their execution, soon after, was rather importuned and hastened by others than easily consented unto by her Grace—for hath she not always been merciful to her veriest enemies. Therefore, hereupon, it fell out. We still retain a good hope of her Majesty's favour towards us, when God shall find means to convey our supplication unto her. Still we pray that nothing may withdraw our loyal heart from her.”

“ Ye reverend magistrates—ye gods (so called in the Scriptures because you are in His stead to do righteous judgments upon the earth)—hath not the Almighty given you understanding to try the depth of all attempts within this land? We trust He hath. O search us deeper then. Try our ways, and if none can alledge any thing against us—save only this one error (if it be such) touching the law of our God. (Dan. vi. 5.)

*“ Deal tenderly with tender consciences. We are yet persuaded that we should shew ourselves disobedient and unthankful to our Maker, except we hold fast this cause. You know not how rich His mercy hath been unto us; for we verily suppose that you never offended His Divine Majesty, so much or so often as most of us have done—like that prodigal child, yea, like Mary Magdalene. But He hath washed us and cleansed us, and given us unspeakable joy and peace of conscience since we came to this company.*

“ Marvel not then at our state; but pity us and help us wherein you know it to be amiss. Behold a people wholly bent and devoted to serve the God of heaven in that course which they may perceive to be most tending to holiness and righteousness. If your honours and worships can bring any to shew us that we shall do more true service to our God, our queen, and country, by coming to the parish assemblies—verily we will hearken unto them without obstinacy (and so that some of you would be the witnesses and judges). Alas! it is not our wordly ease to be thus tossed as we are. It is only this matter of conscience that causeth all our sufferings and your troubles with us. Wherefore, for

Christ Jesus' sake (whose true servants we strive to be), for queen Elizabeth's sake, whose true subjects we are, for England's sake, whose loving countrymen we remain, and for the honour of your own names, and health of your own souls, let no man cause you to fix your eyes and thoughts wholly upon our supposed faults (or fault indeed), but rather upon some merciful means whereby this our too much heat may be cooled and tempered (if it be advised) in all meekness and love. How? As becometh them that would spend their blood against the pope and Spanish king, to death, with those that are most willing to do the like. As it becometh Englishmen to deal with Englishmen, Protestants with Protestants, fathers with their children, and briefly, Christians with Christians.

*"Men and fathers, if you cannot help us presently, yet suffer us to ease our hearts a little by expressing our wounds, sorrows, and sickness at large (even as a child mourneth to the nurse). Under God, we have no help but our queen and you; and who knoweth whether He will (even this MOURNFUL MONTH), by encreasing our afflictions, cause you to behold our loyalty and innocency more than ever you did, and hereby release us the sooner. The mercy of God, and the merciful inclination of our most gracious queen, doth feed us with undoubted hope, that so many of us—the most of us as cannot be found traitors or hereticks—shall yet find favour and pardon. The God of Daniel, our most merciful Father, grant all true wisdom and prosperity to our most gracious queen, Elizabeth, and to as many of you and yours as desire to encrease in*

true fear and love, and service of that mighty God of Israel. Amen.

“MOTIONS TENDING TO MERCY.

“*First.*—That it may please your honours and worships (the premises Christianly pondered) never to hearken unto them who shall go about to persuade you that this people deserve the like terror and punishment as treacherous and idolatrous Papists do.

“*Secondly.*—That it may please you to take order for releasing these poor distressed Protestants freely from those contagious gaols, if that may stand with law and conscience.

“*Third.*—Or else to bail them upon sufficient security to answer, at a reasonable warning, unto whatsoever shall be objected against them.

“*Fourth.*—Lastly. If it be not thought convenient that we, her Majesty’s natural and loving subjects, should have the same liberty granted us in the worship of God, which her Highness giveth to strangers, French, Dutch, and Italian; sith our practice is no other, in every one of these points, than that of theirs and Geneva, and all other Reformed Churches—yet that we may have summam misericordiam, not summum jus. Sed quorsum hec de Gallis, &c. ? Invidius alterius ? Non equidem invidemus (honoratissimi et nobilissimi viri) mirarum magis undiq totis usq adeo, &c. (sed tempus non datur).

“The other motions tending to UNITY which, we trust, will be acceptable to your honours and worships, shall be now also delivered to you and your clerks—God

willing—very shortly, if these first, and *the women that bring them*, do find such favour in your eyes as not to be turned back nor misliked. Otherwise, we know not what course to take (so great is our misery and want of men and means to express it). We are like enough to offend in not writing with such discretion as we ought; and they in not delivering with such modesty as they should. But we are simple men, and they are silly women. Therefore, howsoever either we now, or others of late, have failed in manner or matter, we most humbly beseech your honours and worships to be persuaded that it was not for lack of case and conscience, but only for want of judgment and experience; and, therefore, to pardon us the sooner.

“If he that hath his foot out of joint can scarce do any thing currently, what can they do who have all their chief members troubled, and almost quite cut off. No marvel if their actions be distempered (some too violent, and some too cold). In such a case have we been these many weeks—the knee, as it were, is fain to run for the foot; and a few little fingers (which could never help themselves) to labour for the whole body.

“Howbeit we trust, that in such times and cases, your lordships and worships will imitate all godly men of trades—(si liceat magna parvis). When children or servants are sent unto them they will give better ware and measure, and dispatch them sooner than if the parents themselves should come to buy. Necessity compelleth us to make moans and sighs unto you. Oh! bar us not of that comfort, for then shall our great *distress* be made unspeakable.

“In all humble and pitiful manner we entreat you not to make question who should *begin* to relieve us. But as we have joined you *all* in our humble petition,\* so *all* of you join together in one act of Christian compassion, and every one, in his place, according to his lawful authority, to help us. *The cause why we make our direction thus general was to the end that one or a few copies might pass from many hands to many hearts. We beseech you then send our papers from one to another,* and all our lamentable case remain in your bosom till there be some godly and merciful order taken for us.”

## PART II.

### “MOTIONS TENDING TO UNITY.

“*First.*—That if we may not hear public conference for any inconvenience (in regard whereof it were better we should suffer mischief), yet, that our teachers may, in our hearing (if it may be thought meet), have such as was granted Campian and his fellows.

“*Secondly.*—Or else that there may be some conference\* between two or three of each side, before a

\* Barrowe made the most strenuous efforts to secure such a conference. In a note, the original of which is before us, he writes :—“ My humble desire is, to you and any that fear God, and even to my great adversaries in these ecclesiastical controversies, or (I hope) our but brotherly differences, if we may come to Christian and peaceable conference with some learned and moderate persons, where the reasons on each side may be with deliberation set down and expounded by the Word of God, and so His truth, therein appearing, may be embraced, and we brought to Unity in the truth, and these, which now are made, and likely to shed even streams of Christian blood, may be healed. Those faithful of our mind which yet remain, and such as God, no doubt, will raise up in this cause of Christ, may be reunited. Yea, when all of us may be united in Christ, our Head, with joy. And whatsoever it shall please God and her excellent Majesty to dispose of our lives, yet we hereby being brought to the sight of such faults as we are charged to having committed (but yet see not), may then humbly acknow-

good number of your honours and worships in some private chamber, the main questions agreed upon (with preparation of fasting and prayer), and when the time comes, omitting all taunts and by-matters, only teaching the truth in love. To the touchstone, to the law, and to the testimony.

“*Thirdly.*—Or else such a conference as was granted Hart, the Papist.

“If it be objected, that none of our side are worthy to be thus disputed with, or written with (public or private), we think that this will prove the contrary, viz.—Because there are three or four in this city, and more elsewhere, which have been zealous preachers in the parish assemblies—not ignorant of the Latin, Greek; and Hebrew tongues, nor otherwise unlearned, and generally confessed to be of honest conversation; to be brief, as gentle and learned. Mr. Rainolds, of Oxford, and others like him, are yet alive. So are these right honourable and godly personages of Sir Fra: Knowles’ mind, who have power we know, and goodwill we hope, to further such lawful motions tending to such good purposes.

“If these motions take effect, we are verily persuaded that controversy will soon end (with all or most of us); for by these means shall we poor wretches (which only make this separation, as knoweth the Lord,

ledge the same, and suffer such punishments as are inflicted to the good example of others, to the honour of her Majesty and her State, and this, as in sight of Christ, I vow, by His grace, and dare assure, on the behalf of my Christian brethren like minded, that you, or any of you, taking this Christian and brotherly pains, shall reason and prove us by every word of God to agree with you and be obedient unto his whole will.

HENRY BARROW.”

for love we have to keep His commandments, and for fear to disobey Him) perceive more plainly whether, as men and simple souls, we be deceived by any false light; or else, as His dear children (for so we hope), honoured and trusted with the first view of, and faithful standing in, a cause of holiness and righteousness, where, in most humble and earnest manner—and even as you fear God and love righteousness, and as you strive to resemble Him in liking of them better than of those which are lukewarm—we entreat your honours and worships to labour these, or some other motions, for procuring UNITY and MERCY; and that for the blessings, promised to faithful men and peace-makers, may light upon you and yours; and that the curses, threatened for the contrary, may be far from you. •

“You reverend magistrates and noble guides of this most flourishing Commonwealth, we beseech you, again and again, *in the Lord Jesus, search yourselves narrowly when you seek Him whom your soul loveth, and think how you would desire to be dealt with, if you were in our case, and so deal with us and our teachers.*

“If you suppose them and us to be in grievous error, for common humanity’s sake (were there no further cause), let us not perish either secretly in prisons, or openly by execution, for want of that uttermost help which lies in your power to afford them that are not obstinate men. If any adversaries shall object that we are worthy of close imprisonment, in most contagious air, without bail, and unworthy of having, or hearing, any great prepared conference, or of any



favour; because some of us have been conferred with already, and yet remain in great error as learned men judge; we make this answer, and pray each one of tender heart to ponder it deeply. God forbid that all they who err greatly in some opinions should have no other means to convert them but sudden unequal conference by starts, with snatching and catching—without good order, and indifferent hearing and judges. Such have all, or the most of our conferences been. And then, if they will not by and by yield, be thought worthy of as bad prisons as thieves and rogues. The Holy Ghost seemeth to be of another mind—2 Tim. ii., 24, 25, 26. Even towards those who are in the snare of the devil, taken prisoners by him to do his will. Can we be worse than as Gal. vi., 1, 2, 3. Oh, that the bishops and all the zealous preachers of this land would ask their own hearts whether we have been soundly and lovingly dealt with according to Christ's rules. If they be true pastors to us then—though we go astray and be entangled in errors (as silly sheep with thorns)—yet ought they to follow us, seek us up and unloose us with all tenderness (not so much for fear of losing our fleece as of our souls). The love of a natural brother is great and will not easily cease; but much more of a supernatural father (such are pastors, and therefore they will not easily give over the least and leanest of their flock, though it have a great disease—a great error). Oh why, then, do these, or any of them, so revile us in their books and common speeches? Why do they wish and persuade the civil magistrate to deal with us by the

sword, and not by the Word—by prisons, and not by persuasions? Why do they all this, while we pray for them, and wish them no more harm than we desire to our own souls and bodies; nay, whilst we groan and long to hear some of them, so we might do it with a safe conscience? Is there no remedy but, if we err, we must be thus dealt with? Alas! our first parents, Adam and Eve, did fall; the patriarchs had their faults; the noblest prophets were not free from them; the apostles erred and dissented; the ancient fathers of the primitive church retracted divers opinions; great parliaments and general councils have foully erred; the learned of this age, yea, of this land (nay, of one profession and church), differ very much in judgment about most of the same points as we do; and who is clear from sin and ignorance? But so long as we are not in heresy, nor in treachery—nor in filthy conceit, nor in obstinacy, but erring (if we do fail) on the right hand in points uncondemned, still hating all false ways and loving the paths of righteousness—thus long, there is apparent mercy in the Most High; and so is there in those pastors—those people—who have feeling compassion when God brings means whereby they understand the truth of their actions. *As for dungeons, irons, close prison torment, hunger, cold, want of means to maintain their families, these may cause some to make shipwreck of a good conscience, or to lose their life; but they are not fit ways to persuade honest men to any truth, or dissuade them from errors.*

“Her Majesty hath shewed greater mercy to her undoubted enemies, the treacherous Papists. What,

they may have many teachers, yet they have not many fathers in Christ. He hath been a daily miner at the works of Christ about fourteen years, and we are confident there is not this day, in England, a labourer of his time that can shew more right silver ore of his own raising, than he hath gotten out of these Welsh mines."

The good Parliamentary commissioner and evangelist must not be held responsible for these verbal extravagancies, no more than any who have the misfortune, in our own time, to be overwhelmed with grandiloquent praise of the same order. His own writings are plain, forcible, and scriptural, and we receive our best impression from them. At the same time we repeat, that his reforming measures, as enforced by State authority, were not on the whole beneficial. Abuses, no doubt, were corrected with a firm hand; but the germ of future evils was deposited in the act of eradication. The brethren of the separation it was who preserved the spark of religious liberty, even in the days of the Commonwealth. Very interesting it is to find the old church in Deadman's place, formed by Henry Jacob, resisting the arbitrary measures of the "Directory," and maintaining their right to choose their own pastors, and to conduct worship in accordance with their convictions, irrespective of any regulations to the contrary imposed by the "Assembly of Divines." STEPHEN MORE, in counselling his flock to stand firm in this Thermopylæ of Christian freedom, says: "If any profess themselves ministers of the Lord Jesus, and you would know whether they be Christ's or Antichrist's

“ To the Right Hon. Sir — Roe,\* now Lord Mayor of London, abundance of all blessings be multiplied to God’s glory :—

“ Right Honourable :—Seeing God disposeth of every action according to His surpassing wisdom, and sith He and His angels behold all the doings of men, we humbly beseech you to consider with yourself, that it is not without some providence of His (to your own good if you deal mercifully), that these things, touching Mercy and Unity, are first brought to your lordship’s hands. Many of our brethren in these prisons belong to your liberty. Now, as your citizens are accounted the most noble (even as the princes’ chamber), and as you are the honourable and chief officer therein, so we beseech our God that your lordship may be made a noble, honourable, and worthy instrument in bringing these two most blessed and acceptable things (in the sight of God and men) to good pass.

· If we sent unto you vile things (dishonourable to God, our queen and country), ought you not to make the supreme magistrate acquainted with them? Surely you ought. But now, if we acquaint your lordship with honest notions (and tending to the glory of God, the honour of her Majesty, and the benefit of our country), should you not do the like? Doubtless you should. If you hide it or neglect it, yet the Almighty may find means to bring it to the sight of her Highness’ right honourable Council, and her grave reverend judges. But if you vouchsafe to be a

\* Sir William Rowe was Lord Mayor in 1593.

charitable and godly means for effecting such lawful and unreasonable suitors, you shall discharge the duty of a most honourable office, of a most famous and populous city ; and we, and all ours, shall be the more bound to pray unto God, that He will bless your mayoralty with all manner of blessing of true peace (both inward and outward), and all health, with all other prosperity, so as may tend to His own glory, and your and our comfort in Him ; and that He will continue these blessings to your successors, and to all England, in such sort as that happiness may redound to your city, and all her Majesty's dominions, for many years (if it be His will) under the blessed government of our most gracious sovereign lady and queen, Elizabeth. Amen."

## O.

PENRY'S MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT\* :—  
“ I, John Penry, do here, as I shall answer before the Lord my God in that great day of judgment, set down summarily the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, which I hold and profess at this time, either in regard of my faith towards my God and dread sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, unto whom only, of all the potentates in the world, I owe all reverence, duty, and submission in the Lord :—

1st. Because my allegiance unto her Majesty is chiefly called in question, that I am not at this day,

\* Parts are omitted which recapitulate sentiments before recited.

nor yet ever was, in all my life, either guilty or privy in any purpose, consultation, or intent of any sedition against, or disturbance of, her Majesty's loyal state and peaceable government. And if I were privy unto any such godless, wicked, and undutiful actions, or purposes, as might anyways impair or disquiet the peaceable state of my native prince and country, I would reveal, disclose, and withstand the same, to the utmost of my power, in all persons, both foreign and domestical, of what profession or religion soever they be.

“ Her supreme authority within her realms and dominions I acknowledge to be such over all persons, in all causes, as no person, either civil or ecclesiastical, may exempt himself or his cause from the power and censure of her laws and sword. I do also acknowledge that her Majesty hath full authority from the Lord, by her royal power, to establish and enact all laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, among her subjects; in the making whereof, the Lord requireth that her ecclesiastical be warranted by His written Word, which expressly containeth whatsoever belongeth to His worship; and her civil, to be grounded upon the rules of common justice and equity—the which bounds are so far from diminishing from the authority of kings and princes, as they are the only inexpugnable ways thereof.

“ This sovereign prerogative authority of her Highness I am most willingly ready to defend and maintain against all the estates, persons, and creatures under heaven, to the loss of my life ten thousand times if it should be needful.

“ And I take the Lord to record, that that day, to my

knowledge, hath not passed over my head, I am sure, since the first that the Lord, under her gracious reign, brought me to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not, or do not pray for the blessings of my God, both outward and inward, to be poured with a full horn upon her right excellent Majesty's throne, regiment, and dominions for ever and ever; and that He would either convert, or speedily overthrow in his wrath all his or her enemies, with their enterprizes, whether home or foreign: hereof I call the searcher of hearts, as in witness of truth against my soul, if either I dissemble or forge in the premises. *Secondly*, touching my FAITH: I do believe with my heart, and confess with my tongue, that there is no God but the true God only, which that written Word teacheth to be One in substance, and Three in person, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; three distinct persons of one and the self same substance. This Most High God—who also is my God in Christ Jesus—I believe to be the Creator, Preserver, Maintainer, Sovereign Lord, and Supreme Commander, of all creatures in heaven or in earth; men and angels both good and bad. I do believe that nothing doth, or can, come to pass, either in heaven or in earth, but by the fore-appointed and determinate will, purpose, counsel, direction—yea, without the most holy, most wise, and most upright commandments, according to the counsel of His own will.

“All men, by nature, I believe to be the children of wrath, and saved only by grace; the sufferings and righteousness of Christ Jesus, apprehended by true faith.

“ Christ Jesus, in regard of His natures, I believe to be God and man—even God alone, blessed for evermore ; and, in respect of His offices, to be the only King, Priest, and Prophet of His church ; the which offices He so fully accomplished in the days of His flesh, by the manifesting of the whole will of His Father, through His preaching and teaching the full redemption of His church by His death and resurrection ; and receiving full absolute power in heaven and in earth from His Father, in such sort as He is not to retain a successor in any of these, His offices, but is consecrated alone to them all for evermore.

“ True faith I believe to be the persuasion of the heart, whereby the soul is truly assured of remission of sins, and imputation of righteousness through Christ.

“ This true faith belongeth only to God’s elect, and hath perseverance unto the end. With this true faith, also, is inseparably joined (as the fruit thereof) a dying unto sin, and a living unto righteousness, in such sort as the members of Christ have a continual battle in them against sin ; the which, by the power of Christ’s death, is so wounded, and in some measure decayeth more and more in them, until at length it shall be utterly consumed when the bodies and souls be separated, and not before.

“ By the quickening power of Christ (I do believe), that *His*, here upon earth, are drawn more and more to be like His blessed will, and to practise the same ; yea, to *give their lives rather, than to dishonour their God* in the will and voluntary denial of His truth,



and the breach of His laws and will, in any point revealed unto them.

“ His revealed will I believe to be perfectly contained in the written word of the Old and New Testament, given by the Holy Ghost for instruction and comfort of His poor church, as long as *the same is a PILGRIM here upon earth.*

“ The church I believe to be a company of those whom the Word calleth saints; which do not only profess in word that they know God, but also are subject unto His laws and ordinance indeed: with this church, I do believe that the Lord God, of his mere favour, hath entered into covenant that He will be their God, and they shall be His people. The seals of this, His covenant, are only two—Baptism, and the Lord’s Supper.

“ The church here upon earth I do believe not to be perfect, although, in regard of the order which the Lord hath appointed for the same, it be most absolute, but to have many blemishes and wants in it; yet I assuredly believe that all the true members thereof, shall, at the day of judgment, receive their perfect consummation by Jesus Christ, and be crowned in Him with eternal glory, of His mere grace, and not for any merit of theirs.

“ Through the mercies of my God, and therefore, I am willingly content to undergo any trouble in this life for His name sake, who be glorified of my soul and body, and of His saints, for evermore. Amen.

“ I detest all heresies, sects, schisms, and errors, whether new or old, by whomsoever they have been

invented, under what name soever they, by men, be called—as Puritanism, Donatism, Anabaptistry, Libertism, Brownism, and all the dreams and dotages of the Family of Love: but especially all Popery, that most dreadful religion of Antichrist, the great enemy of the Lord Jesus; and the most pestilent adversary of all the thrones of kings and princes—so that I abhor, from my soul, that whole body, and every part of that Romish religion, called the Son of Perdition by the Spirit of God, because the Lord hath determined utterly to consume it by His appearing in the brightness of His Gospel, before His second coming.

“I detest that proud superiority of this Man of Sin, whereby, as the Apostle spake, he hath exalted himself in his members and power to bear rule over the truth and members of Christ, even over all that is called holy—wholly opposeth himself as a most bloody adversary against all truths and servants of the Lord, which will not suffer him; but with his said infernal power doth reign over them instead of Christ in His blessed ordinances.

“I detest, in regard of their *offices* (I speak not of the men’s *persons* touching the Lord’s election), the head of that body, the pope—his cursed triple crown—his usurped jurisdiction of either of both swords. Rev. xiv, 9—10.

“I willingly confess that both of the teachers, and also of the professors, within the assemblies of the land, have so embraced the truth, that the Lord, in His infinite goodness, hath granted them the favour to shew out—wherein, regard of God’s election, I protest, before

men and angels, that I judge them members of the body whereof the Son of God, Jesus Christ, is the head; only, herein, the Lord be merciful unto them, as unto myself in regard of my sins, that they are not ordered in that outward order which Christ Jesus left in His church; but instead thereof, are *first* subject unto those fore-named offices; *secondly*, have communion with their false manner of callings unto their offices; *thirdly*, participate with a great part of their devised works wherein these offices are employed; *fourthly*, with the false maintenance and livings; *fifthly*, are mingled with the known profane, ignorant, and disordered persons, which are joint members with them in their assemblies.

“This is the sum of my faith and allegiance to my God and my prince—here is the sum of the whole difference which is between me and the clergy of this land—and the sum of the whole cause for the which I and divers others of my poor brethren are judged to be schismatics, felons, heretics. If this may come to the royal hands of my sovereign, and to the view of their H. H. they will be soon induced, that neither I, nor any other that hold the same with me, deserve the shortening of our days, by her Majesty’s sword, for these things.

“And here is all that ever we hold. As touching that error concerning the repeating of the Lord’s Prayer, wherewith we are charged, far be it—even far be it—that we should deny the same, or any the like Scripture, to be a holy form of prayer; which containeth not only an exquisite pattern of doctrine which a Christian

soul may not only lawfully say, but also, with great comfort, have the use of the same. Indeed, we rather hold it for a doctrine than prayer; the abuse, in the often repeating of it, we condemn; and this I am sure was the judgment, in this point, of those holy servants of God who now rest from their labours. The good which this land getteth outwardly by these false offices afore-named, and the livings belonging unto them, is, the traitors, as Jesuits and seminary priests, are drawn, by that hope they have of possessing this Babylonish gold, to become the unnatural betrayers of their natural prince and country into the hands of strangers; whereas, if these offices and livings were, by public authority, once removed and converted to her Majesty's use, the pope would have no occasion to send over those locusts; they would be no baits to allure them hither, and the home Papists would be utterly void of hope, to see their expected day; so that the maintaining of these offices and livings, their devised works and callings, would fall with them, now joined—so that there is no small danger of her Majesty, person, and the whole state of this land. I do point out the inconveniences which, in conscience towards her Majesty and my country, I am bound to shew. They that are wiser will think of the cause with seriousness, and would not, I hope, think me worthy to be smitten for thus shewing the danger.

“Whatsoever I hold in these points controverted, I hold the same of mere conscience towards God; of that mere detestation which, in conscience, I am bound to have of all the inventions of men or angels in

religion ; and of that care which I ought to have of the salvation and safeguard of her Majesty, whom the Lord preserve for evermore, and of my country. I am ready to give my life, by the aid of my God, for the truth of this testimony, Yet if any man can see, by the written Word of God, that I err in anything, I will most willingly reform my judgment, crave pardon earnestly for my oversight ; yea, and be most willing to suffer due punishment for my temerity. But if, on the other side, I testify nothing but verity in these points I am undoubtedly persuaded of, I most humbly crave that the piercing edge of that sword may not in heat be turned against me and my brethren, which was never professedly violent against the open and sworn enemies of their native prince and country.

“Death, I thank God, I fear not—in this cause especially—for I know that the sting of death is taken away, and that they are blessed which die in the Lord, for witnessing against the former corruptions. (Rev. xiv. 9—13.) Life I desire not, if I be guilty of sedition—of defaming and disturbing the quiet state of her Majesty’s peaceable government.

“Lastly, I most humbly and earnestly beseech their honours and worships, in whose hands this writing of mine shall come, to consider, that it is to no purpose that her Majesty’s subjects should bestow their time in learning—in study and meditation of the Word—in reading the writings and doings of learned men and of the holy martyrs which have been in former ages ; especially the writings published by her Majesty’s authority—if they may not, without danger, profess and

hold those truths as which they learn out of them; and, that in such sort as they are able, to convince all the world, that will stand against them, by no other weapons than by the Word of God. I beseech them also to consider what a lamentable case it is, that we may hold fellowship with the Romish church in the inventions thereof without all danger, and cannot, without extreme peril, be permitted, in judgment and practice, to depart from the same where it swerveth from the true way, and as they find the things to be of especial moment in religion. I beseech them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be a means unto her Majesty and their honours, that my cause may be weighed in even balance. Imprisonments, indictments, arraignments—yea, death itself—are no meet weapons to convince the conscience grounded upon the Word of God, and accompanied with so many witnesses of His famous servants and churches.

“The Lord bless her right excellent Majesty, my most gracious sovereign; bless their honours, this whole land, and all His saints, even for His great name’s sake. Amen.

“Subscribed with heart and hand by me,

“JOHN PENRY,

“Now in strait bonds, for the former testimony of Christ’s truth.”

This characteristic document was transmitted (as we find from an original letter of Francis Johnson) to Lord Burleigh. “I am bold,” writes the nonconformist prisoner, “to send to your lordship a confession of

faith, and an apology, drawn by that faithful witness of Christ, our brother Penry, before his death; by which plainly appeareth what his faith was towards God, and loyalty towards her Majesty; so that, although he was condemned of men, yet, I doubt not, he was accepted of God; and now is partaker of that crown of life which is promised to all that are faithful unto death. The poor remnant of poor Christians (who are falsely called Brownists) do all of us generally agree with that of our faithful brother in that confession, and allegiance to God and her Majesty, as we have often declared to the world in other like confessions—which I have not by me to send also to your lordship, as otherwise I would have done, that your lordships might be informed aright as to the truth of our cause. Let it not be tedious to your lordship, I beseech you, to read over this confession of faith, which also may be shewed to whom it pleaseth you only; only let me humbly entreat your lordship not to make known from whom you received it; neither to shew this, or any former letter, to any, till it please God I be freed out of prison, either alive or dead in the Lord. One of our brother Penry's indictments was taken out of his most secret writings. Yea, contrary to his meaning, as I heard he protested before God. I do not know any to whom your lordship can shew them that will not make relation of it to the prelate of Canter., and other our adversaries, who will the more either continue my restraint in prison or hasten the end of my days in this life; but I know your lordship will be very careful hereof in these dangerous days.

“ Mon. 6, 12, 1593.”

## P.

BANCROFT'S PROMOTION (p. 178):—Bancroft, "when chaplain only to the Lord Chancellor Hatton, he pieced himself with Dr. Whitgift, not long after his first coming to the see of Canterbury, to whom he proved a great support in gaining the Lord Chancellor for him, by whose assistance he was enabled to hold out against the over-ruling power of the Earl of Leicester, the patron general of the faction. In the year 1593, he published a treatise, entitled "*A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline.*"\* The plot was so laid down by Whitgift, that, at the same time, there should come out two other books; the one written by Dr. William Bilson, warden of the college near Winton, for proof of the antiquity and perpetual government of the church by bishops; the other by Dr. Richard Cosens, a right learned civilian, in justification of the proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts. By which four books the Puritan faction was so muzzled, that they were not able to bark in a long time after; nor do they want their several and just rewards for such good performances, Bilson being first made Bishop of Worcester, and not long after Bishop of Winton; Bancroft advanced to the see of London, and Dr. Cosens, vicar-general, and dean of the Arches, within few years after being consecrated Bishop of London."

## Q.

"*I leave the success of my labours unto such of my countrymen as the Lord is to raise after me.*" (p. 198):—The rise and progress of Evangelical Nonconformity

\* Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 62-63, 1658.



deny. We hear that the archbishop maketh enquiry at the Gatehouse, Clink, and Katherine's\*, how many of them have died ; there being, I ween, a clause in the suppl. that the coroner sat not upon such of us as died in prison ; which was very true. Myself being in Newgate, there was no jury or inquest suffered to sit upon that rare young man Rich. Jackson, who there died. I demanded the cause, as I think M. Deux himself told me that the Bishop of London commanded the contrary. The like was of the two aged poor widows that died there ; as also upon old Mr. Crane there was no inquest called, or suffered to sit and pass upon their bodies, though it were required. This, there are many credible witnesses to verify. The coroner's book, if it be searched, will make all plain. Further, they would not suffer the body of this ancient grave preacher and father, Mr. Cr., to be carried to burial into the city through Newgate, lest the people, who know his virtue and godliness, should espy it, and abhor their cruelty. There likewise died in Bridewell a very godly person, called John Pardie, committed by the archbishop ; who they there put into their "Little Ease," and beat with a great cudgel very extremely, because he would not come to their chapel in their house. The man was grave, sober, and very godly, and honest, as to be well testified of all that know him. If law might be looked upon, these cases are foul. I omit to relate here how many Dr. Stanhope hath cast into irons in Newgate ; and of the boy, of 15 years old, he there

\* The prison connected with St. Katherine's Hospital, near the Tower.

five years after Penry's death. The street between Blackman-street and the Town-hall was called, in his time, St. Margaret's-Hill; and on the same side of it, with St. George's church, stood the *White Lyon*, where Udall wrote the letter in Appendix I. Stow tells us, "it was originally the prison for the whole county of Surrey, and was for the custody of murderers, felons, and other notorious malefactors. It was situate at the south end of St. Margaret's-Hill, near unto St. George's church." This being an old decayed house, "the county gaol was moved more towards the bridge, a large and strong building." In this prison the Puritan martyr breathed his last. (See page 84.) "*The Compter*," Stow says, "is within part of the Marshalsea house, near St. George's church;" and between the *Marshalsea*\* and the White Lyon was the *Queen's Bench*, where Penry wrote his last affecting letters. Barrowe and Greenwood were first imprisoned in the *Clink*, near the Thames, the locality now called Clink-street. This was the prison connected with the palace of the Bishop of Winchester. Francis Johnson was imprisoned there; and, subsequently, Henry Jacob. The chapel, in *Deadman's-place*, stood in premises now occupied by the cooperage of Barclay's brewery; and UNION-STREET CHAPEL, to which the church removed on its departure from the brewery, stands within an obscure yard, enclosed by gates, seven doors from the High-street, Borough. The lease of the chapel will expire very shortly; and, hitherto, no adequate means have

\* The premises No. 119 to 122 High-street, stand on the site of the Marshalsea.

been found for the continued accommodation of the ancient church. There is a rule in all modern Chapel Building Associations that precludes help for long-existing congregations. If the church is to be continued, therefore, it must be by the PROMPT AND PRACTICAL SYMPATHY of those who regard with interest its historical position, and are anxious to prolong the course of its consistent usefulness. It is not too much to say that its dissolution would be a disgrace to nonconformity, scarcely less than that of the primate who signed the death-warrant of the martyr.



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